Editorial and Cultural Debates in Danish and Swedish Newspapers

Understanding the terror attacks in Paris and Copenhagen in early 2015

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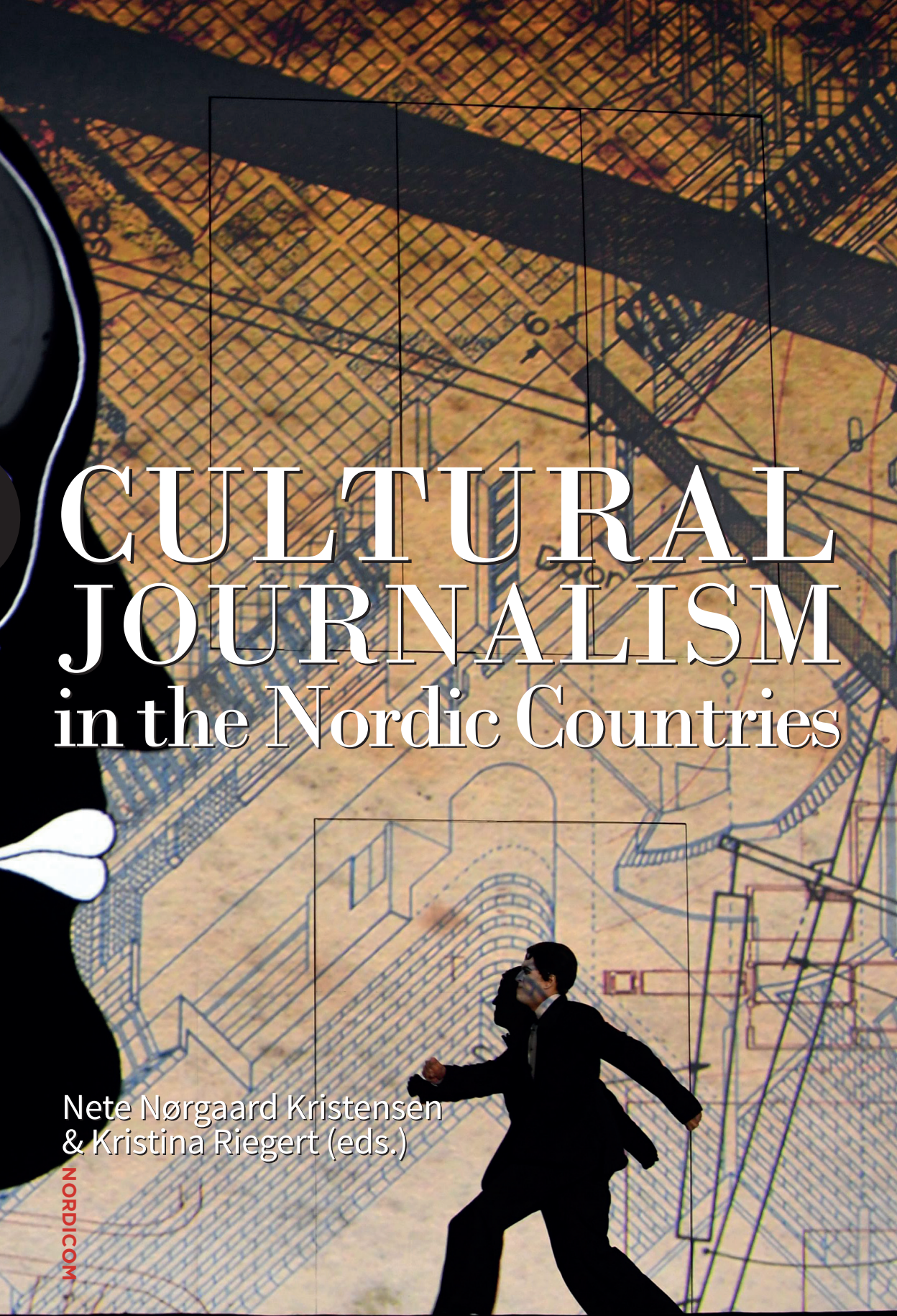

CULTURAL JOURNALISM in the Nordic Countries

Nete Nørgaard Kristensen
& Kristina Riegert (eds.)

NORDICOM

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Preface

This book is the outcome of a series of explorative workshops on Cultural Journalism in the Nordic Countries, funded by The Joint Committee for Nordic Research Councils in the Humanities and Social Sciences (NOS-HS) from 2014 to 2015. These workshops were led by Nete Nørgaard Kristensen, University of Copenhagen, in collaboration with Kristina Riegert, Stockholm University, Leif Ove Larsen, University of Bergen, and Heikki Hellman, Tampere University.

We would like to thank NOS-HS for supporting the workshops, which have been the starting point for a Nordic network of scholars with an interest in cultural journalism research. We would like to thank all who participated in the workshops, many of whom have also contributed to this book. We would especially like to thank Jan Fredrik Hovden and Silje Nygaard who have contributed greatly to the completion of one of the national Nordic perspectives of this book. Furthermore, we would like to thank all the Nordic and international colleagues who served as reviewers of the book chapters for their valuable comments and feedback. The Department of Media Studies, Stockholm University gave the financial support necessary for publishing this book, which we are grateful for. Finally, we would like to thank Ingela Wadbring and Karin Poulsen from Nordicom for giving us the opportunity to do this book and not least for a smooth and efficient production process.

Cultural Journalism in the Nordic Countries is a landmark in positioning Nordic research at the centre of the emerging international research agenda on the study of cultural journalism. We hope the book will inspire more media and journalism scholars to engage with this intriguing field of study.

Nete Nørgaard Kristensen & *Kristina Riegert*

Copenhagen & Stockholm
April, 2017

1.

Why Cultural Journalism in the Nordic Countries?

Nete Nørgaard Kristensen & Kristina Riegert

Journalism research has long focused on political journalism and the news media as key to the political public sphere. This is due to the idea that a professional, autonomous and versatile press, addressing issues of societal importance is a precondition for democracy (Curran 2011). As a consequence, journalism scholars have neglected the news media's coverage of art, culture, and lifestyle – central to what Habermas called the "literary public sphere" – and what is known in the Nordic countries as 'cultural journalism'. When cultural journalism has been addressed, this type of content is most often criticised as examples of the tabloidisation of journalism (e.g., Reinemann et al. 2011) or of the unhealthy interdependencies of the media and cultural industries (Bech-Karlsen 1991, Lund 2005, Strahan 2011).

Several reasons come to mind as to the lack of research on cultural journalism. First, as Kristensen and From (2011: 21-22) point out, cultural journalism has often been considered lower down in the journalistic hierarchy – as 'soft news' dealing with leisure subjects. Secondly, the array of specialists (academics and artists) who have often been responsible for reviews, essays and debate in cultural journalism were ignored because scholars did not consider them to be 'real' journalists in view of their place at the fringes of the journalistic profession. All this is however changing with professionalisation, digitalisation and streamlining of mainstream media content. As we will note later in this chapter and throughout the book, cultural journalists are becoming increasingly less specialized (Knapskog & Hovden 2015) and more like news journalists (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012). Cultural journalists and scholars (Bech-Karlsen 1991, Lund 2005) have, for example, pointed to the adoption of genres and values from journalism (e.g., 'promotional' interviews and immediate news items) into the cultural section of the press, which has otherwise historically been associated with a more opinionated approach (in reviews, commentaries and features). At the same time, these very cultural journalistic genres have also increased in mainstream journalism, prompting scholars to call the rise of opinion, commentary and 'subjective' views, the 'interpretive turn' in journalism (e.g, Barnhurst 2014). As

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several of the chapters in the book will exemplify in more detail, recurring debates in the Nordic countries about the alleged decline of quality in cultural criticism and its importance as an arena for debate and reflection demonstrate the continuing importance of studying this type of specialty journalism.

A third reason that scholars may have overlooked cultural or 'arts' journalism is that the concept itself encompasses an array of different subject areas (music journalism, literary journalism, fashion journalism to name a few), which makes finding research on cultural journalism through key word searches difficult (Jaakkola 2014, Kristensen & From 2011, 2015a). Added to this are the blurry boundaries of cultural journalism against lifestyle and entertainment journalism on the one hand, and political or socially engaged journalism on the other. These boundaries have shifted over time, but also practitioners and scholars in different countries and media organisations may define them differently. What is included under the rubric 'cultural journalism' depends on newsroom organisation, journalistic identity as well as the media landscape and the society within which it works. Here it is notable that almost all the Nordic research done on cultural journalism is on the press (and even within this institutional framework the interpretations of 'culture' in cultural journalism vary, see Kristensen & From 2011). This book takes the first tentative steps to address this gap in the research by engaging with cultural journalism in broadcast media and, to some extent, how these mainstream media institutions are adapting to the online environment. In this manner the book contributes to a research agenda currently emerging and pointing to cultural journalism as a journalistic sub-field of considerable public significance (e.g., Hanusch 2012, Jaakkola 2015, Janssen et al. 2011, Kristensen & From 2011, 2015a, 2015b, Verboord & Janssen 2015).

We apply three interconnected perspectives to the study of cultural journalism in the Nordic countries – Denmark, Finland, Norway, and Sweden:[1] 1) How cultural journalism in *the Nordic countries* exemplify a common media model while *at the same time* being characterised by national variations, 2) How 'culture' during the 20th century has become an increasingly *broad phenomenon* in the news media, ranging from cultural promotion (Kristensen & From 2015c), over 'service journalism' (Eide & Knight 1999) and 'life politics' (Giddens 1992) to expressing 'the political' in culture (Riegert, Roosvall & Widholm 2015), and 3) How media technological change is influencing and transforming cultural journalism and cultural journalists' self-perceptions. In the following, we elaborate on these perspectives as a shared framework for the chapters in the book. First, we introduce two contrasting views of the developments of what has been called the Nordic media model, assessing their implications for cultural journalism. Second, we discuss journalistic professionalism and its particular nature relating to cultural journalists with the help of the latest comparative data. Third, we introduce previous Nordic research in the field of cultural journalism, including its increasingly inclusive definition, the gaps in research, changing professional boundaries as well as the current challenges posed by digitalisation.

The Nordic media model – change or continuity?

The book applies a *comparative perspective* to cultural journalism in order to address how we can conceptualize cultural journalism in a Nordic context. This approach emerges though the book along three dimensions: in the first part of the book four national chapters outline the historic development of cultural journalism during the 20th century and the early 21st century in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden; the second part comprises three original case studies involving two or more Nordic countries; and in the final part, two essays by Norwegian scholars set cultural journalism into broader theoretical contexts by relating them to the cultural public sphere and so called 'service journalism' respectively.

Internationally, the media in the Nordic countries are often viewed as more similar than different. Grouped under labels such as the "Democratic-Corporatist model" (Hallin & Mancini 2004), "The Media Welfare State" (Syvertsen et al. 2014) or "The Nordic Media Market" (Ohlsson 2015), the media are seen to exemplify as well as constitute important building blocks in "The Nordic Welfare model" (Christiansen et al. 2006, Petersen 2011, Syvertsen et al. 2014: 16). Especially Hallin and Mancini's seminal book *Comparing Media Systems* (2004) has inspired much comparative media research during the past decade, also in a Nordic context (e.g., Strömbäck, Ørsten & Aalberg 2008). One of three models emphasising the interplay between Western news media markets and political systems, the Democratic-Corporatist model is said to be epitomised by the Nordic countries, since they have: a) *a strong press* with high circulation (among other things, linked to the early introduction of press freedom); b) *political parallelism* between the news media and political parties (exemplified by the party press); c) solid *professionalism* (grounded in ideals like autonomy and a strong public service ethos); and d) *state intervention* regulating the media (in the form of subsidies to the newspaper industry and support for public service broadcasting). Of particular importance in the context of this book, the Nordic mainstream media appears to have secured a special place for cultural journalism, also to a larger extent than other media systems and other countries' interpretation of the Democratic-Corporatist model.

Hallin and Mancini's work has, however, also been criticised – among other things for being outdated from almost the moment it was published (Ohlsson 2015), since it came out at a time when international media markets were undergoing considerable change due to digitalisation, globalisation and commercialisation. Thus, the empirical realities of the late 1990s and early 2000s were soon viewed as obsolete. Not least the "borderless media landscape" (Ohlsson 2015: 9) has posed a challenge to the idea of nationally distinct and demarcated media systems. In recent years, publications aiming to update Hallin and Mancini's work have emerged acknowledging the importance of continuously comparing media within various contexts, and taking the changed media landscape into consideration. Two such studies, focusing particularly on the Nordic context, are Jonas Ohlsson's *The Nordic Media Market* (2015) and Syvertsen,

Enli, Mjøs and Moe's *The Media Welfare State: Nordic Media in the Digital Age* (2014). In addition to their detailed and updated empirical grounding in the Nordic context, these two publications are interesting because they reach quite different conclusions on the current state of the Nordic media model – *change and continuity* respectively.

Taking his point of departure in three of Hallin and Mancini's original four dimensions, Ohlsson (2015) emphasises change in the form of increasing *differences* between the media systems in the Nordic countries, and he reaches the somewhat pessimistic conclusion that the Nordic media model is waning. Firstly, he accentuates the press as particularly important to the Nordic media model in view of its public service ethos and high circulation. Echoing the crisis discourse in much media and journalism research during the previous decade (e.g., Franklin 2011, Picard 2010, Ryfe 2012), he points to the steadily declining circulation in print and advertising revenues, concluding that the "Nordic region is no longer characterized by a strong newspaper industry" (2015: 60). Reiterating media historical accounts (e.g., Jensen 2003, Weibull 2013), Ohlsson, second, argues that the *political parallelism* of newspapers and political parties has weakened in all the Nordic countries with the decline of the party press during the 20th century. This, despite the fact that some research (e.g., Blach-Ørsten & Kristensen 2016; Hjarvard 2010, 2013; Hjarvard & Kristensen 2014) points to a re-politicisation of certain newspapers in connection with issues such as freedom of expression, immigration, and terrorism (i.e., issues linked to broader cultural political issues or value politics) (see also chapter seven in this volume). The re-politicisation differs however from the era of the party press – and thus from political parallelism in the traditional sense – in that it is seen mainly as (commercial) segmentation or branding strategies rather than as a renewed support for particular political parties or ideologies (Hjarvard 2010, Schultz 2007). Finally, Ohlsson (2015) points to the fact that even though *public service* across platforms – TV, radio, online – continues to be strong in all the Nordic countries, or *the* key-element upholding the Nordic media model, there are increasing differences and changes in the funding of public service, potentially weakening the Nordic media model (see also chapter six in this volume).

Contrary to this discourse of change, Syvertsen et al. (2014) point to the *continuity* of the Nordic media model at two levels – *media policy* and *empirical reality* – and thus, more optimistically, argue for the endurance of the characteristics that have made it an international role model. They conclude that Nordic media still, "…constitute a distinct entity" (in chapter 6: 15), since the Nordic countries may share traits with other Western societies "but have more in common with each other" (ibid.). More specifically, Syvertsen et al. (2014) emphasise four enduring principles or pillars at the policy level: The first is the notion of *universalism* in Nordic media policy that secures communication services as public goods, making them available to all and ensuring their broad appeal. The second is *editorial freedom*, which is closely linked to institutionalized press freedom and the norm of universalism, diversity and autonomy. Third, *cultural policy* goals continue to facilitate a vibrant and versatile political

and cultural public sphere by means of subsidies to the press and generous funding of public service broadcasters. The fourth pillar concerns the overall commitment by both public and private actors to *cooperative and consensual policy-making* (i.e. democratic corporatism, see Ahva et al. 2016). This, despite frictions connected to specific conditions, such as the public service broadcasters' provision of entertainment and online news. When it comes to empirical realities, Syvertsen et al. (2014) emphasise: 1) continuity in *media use*, i.e., consumption of news and information; 2) continuity in *diversity in content* in both newspapers and public service broadcasting; and 3) that *traditional media institutions* remain strong across platforms. These continuities still resonate with the characteristics of Hallin and Mancini's aforementioned model – a relatively strong press (in terms of both market position and audience trust), a high degree of journalistic professionalism (in terms of editorial/press freedom) and rigorous media regulation (to ensure market diversity and public service).

These recent publications underline the importance of re-visiting and reassessing the Nordic model – not only on the structural level but also at the level of practicing journalists (Ahva et al., 2016), and within specific areas of the media landscape, such as cultural journalism. A decade ago Hallin and Mancini (2004), for example, pointed to a homogenisation of Western media systems towards a more liberal media model – one that, in the American context, has meant a somewhat marginal role for cultural journalism, since less attention is devoted to art and culture by the institutionalised news media (Szántó, Levy & Tyndall 2004). Do we see a similar tendency in the Nordic context in view of conglomeration, globalisation and the press crisis that Ohlsson (2015) implicitly points to, or do we see continued priority to cultural journalism across print, broadcast and online platforms, as implied by Syvertsen et al. (2014)?

The place of culture in the Nordic media model

We would like to point to some aspects of the Nordic media model which are of particular importance to cultural journalism and which deserve comparative attention:

1) As will become apparent throughout this book, *newspapers* have played an important role in the history and development of cultural journalism and continue to be agenda-setting in the cultural circuit of the Nordic countries. However, the quite diverse constellations of the national newspaper markets point to differences: The Norwegian, Swedish and Finnish media systems are characterised by a variety of local, regional and national newspapers that influence public opinion, politics and culture. In a Danish context, the national press play a more important role as agenda-setters and opinion-makers – to the public, the political system and the cultural scene (see also Ahva et al. 2016, Kristensen & Blach-Ørsten 2015, Kristensen 2016). Within the cultural field these differences become apparent in the national chapters, which outline how some regional newspapers in, for example, Finland and Sweden have also played important roles in the development of cultural journalism.

2) Both Ohlsson (2015) and Syvertsen et al. (2014) point to the importance – and endurance – of the *public service* ethos in the Nordic media model. This is kept alive not least by what Nissen (2013: 13) calls the "extraordinarily close cooperation among the Nordic public service organisations" these last fifty years through annual meetings, programme exchange and co-productions. This ethos is echoed in the public service obligations across the Nordic countries to support and promote national cultural institutions. The Nordic public service media are conceived to serve broadly similar purposes, yet they have been organised differently and have responded differently to the challenges chiefly stemming from digitalisation and globalisation. In each country, public service is stipulated to have: a national cultural remit, cooperation with other cultural institutions and actors, an arms-length relationship to government, and mandates to cover 'narrow' and 'broad' culture. But the national public service companies have had differing strategies regarding how much factual cultural material they offer. This is partly due to the position of the newspaper market for cultural journalism, which has traditionally developed cultural journalism first. While Sweden, for example, has three public service companies for radio, television and educational broadcasting, cultural news has less priority in the other countries today. Furthermore, the Swedish public service organisations appear to have more of an international orientation in that they are specifically tasked by the government to reflect international and Nordic culture (see chapter six), which can be contrasted to Finland and Denmark, focusing more on national culture.

3) Even though neither Ohlsson (2015) nor Syvertsen et al. (2014) emphasise the importance of the *professionalism of journalism*, it seems to be a particularly important trait of the Nordic media model, broadly and in relation to cultural journalism. Hovden et al. (2016) for example, point to a Nordic model for journalism education. More formalised forms of education were established after WW2 across the Nordic region in view of the expanding media landscape's increasing demand for professional journalists. These programmes were a mix of vocational and academic programs and involved both practical and theoretical dimensions. Despite some national variations, strong collaborations across the Nordic region also contributed to a shared Nordic education model, and it is today a common denominator across the Nordic region that a diploma within journalism (or media/communication) is often a prerequisite for working as a journalist. Similarly, Ahva et al. (2016) report that Nordic journalists across beats continue to share many of the same professional values. For example, they identify strongly with the role of 'the detached watchdog' and feel free from undue influence of economic and political pressures, suggesting that professional autonomy is still strong. They link this to the institutional frameworks that support the news media and professional journalism in the Nordic region, such as subsidies, public service, arm's length principles etc., which mirror the Nordic welfare state more generally. At the same time, previous Nordic cultural journalism studies have shown that the competing paradigms of aesthetic and journalistic logics have been present in this hybrid journalistic form since the beginning of the 20th century

(Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Kristensen & From 2011). But, as also demonstrated by several of the chapters in this book, the balance between the two logics of cultural journalism has increasingly shifted towards the journalistic paradigm, lessening the importance of aesthetic expertise in specific cultural fields, as well as autonomy from the central news desk. In the wake of digitalisation and conglomeration, "organisational professionalism", economic downsizing and a new generation of journalists with multimedia skills, managerial control of the cultural desk has been centralized (Hovden & Knapskog 2015, Jaakkola 2015, Kristensen & From 2015b, Sarrimo 2016). This has had an impact on the genres of cultural journalism as well as on cultural journalists' self-perceptions.

The national chapters in this book demonstrate that these changes can be seen in all four countries, and they demonstrate the importance of comparative approaches to cultural journalism *within* the Nordic borders.

Professional traits of Nordic cultural journalists

The Worlds of Journalism Study (2012-2015) includes empirical data on the demographics, working conditions and role perceptions of cultural journalists in the Nordic region today compared with other types of journalists. Since such data have not previously been collected, we include this to provide some contours of the contemporary Nordic cultural journalist as a backdrop for the more detailed national chapters and comparative studies to follow.[2]

International research has pointed to a more general 'feminisation' of the newsroom (see North 2014, Steiner 2009) in view of the increasing share of female journalists (e.g., Weaver & Willnat 2012) and of female journalists more often reporting on soft news (e.g., North 2014). However, gender differences do not vary significantly between cultural journalists and other types of journalists in the Nordic region, although there are indications of more 'feminisation' of the cultural beat in Sweden and Denmark.

Despite some national variations, cultural journalists across the Nordic countries are well educated, since they typically hold a bachelor- (or equivalent) or master degree. This is also the case with other journalists, confirming studies of journalism education in the Nordic region more generally (e.g., Jyrkiäinen & Heinonen 2012, Skovsgaard et al. 2012, Strömbäck, Nord & Shehata 2012). Nonetheless, cultural journalists appear to have a *longer* education than journalists in general, especially in Denmark, but also in Sweden and Norway, where a larger share of cultural journalists hold a master degree (see also Hovden & Knapskog 2015). However, their educational background is more often within journalism than within other fields of expertise, for example the arts or aesthetics, which explains part of the decrease in the aesthetic paradigm (e.g., Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Kristensen & From 2015b).

In all the Nordic countries more cultural journalists are freelancers/part-time employed, and they are more often involved in other paid activities besides working

as a journalist, compared to other journalists. Even though the cultural beat has a long tradition of using freelance critics, the current changes – such as cutbacks and short-term contracts – within the newsrooms in the Nordic countries amplify this historical trend of less work security and stability for cultural journalists (see also Hovden & Knapskog 2015).

As shown in the country chapters of the book, much research on cultural journalism has revolved around the quite different role conceptions among this beat's journalists compared to traditional journalists (Forde 2003, Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen 2007, Kristensen 2003). The typical 'watchdog'– or 'fourth estate' role of journalism – was found by the survey to be less pronounced among cultural journalists compared to other types of journalists. More important to Nordic cultural journalists, though differently so in each country, were 'service' roles often associated with soft news, such as providing relaxation and entertainment, or "providing advice, orientation and direction for daily life" (Eide & Knight 1999, see also chapter ten in this book).

Finally, the Worlds of Journalism Study data supports Hovden and Knapskog's (2015: 808) argument that "More often than other journalists, cultural journalists state themselves to be free in the choice and framing of their stories". Although all Nordic journalists report having considerable freedom in selecting their stories, the share of cultural journalists reporting this is larger compared to regular journalists, and more so in Denmark and Finland. This suggests that cultural journalists in all the Nordic countries experience being less driven by fixed news values, agendas and framings than other journalists (see also Kristensen & From 2011, 2015b, Skovsgaard et al. 2012). Here, however, we would caution that these are self-reported perceptions of reality rather than a study of that reality itself.

Nordic research on cultural journalism

The authors of the national chapters in this book address the state of the art of research on cultural journalism in the four Nordic countries. In the following we summarise some main traits.

One overall observation is that research on cultural journalism has been ongoing especially since the early and mid-2000s, mainly in Finland, Norway and Denmark. Part of this work has not been published in English (e.g., Knapskog & Larsen 2008, Kristensen & From 2011, Lund 2005), while more recent research with key findings and a Nordic perspective has come out internationally (e.g., Hovden & Knapskog 2015, Jaakkola 2015, Kristensen & From 2015a). To varying extents there are longitudinal content analyses on Danish, Finnish and Norwegian cultural journalism in the national press during the 20th century and 21st centuries focusing on changes in professional culture and identity, as well as some work on audience reception. The emphasis in the research however differs from country to country. Kristensen and From's (2011) study of the Danish press demonstrates a broadening of the concept of culture over

time, as boundaries blur between cultural journalism and lifestyle, and journalists take on a more 'service-oriented' role to guide readers' cultural consumption. The Finnish research, which also includes some longitudinal work documenting the increase in popular cultural topics on the cultural pages, has focused more on changes in newsroom organisation, professionalism, and self-identification of cultural journalists (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Jaakkola 2015). Norwegian research also contains longitudinal data on professionalism and self-identity, though this is set into a context of the role of cultural journalism as mediator of cultural life and as an important arena in the cultural public sphere (Knapskog & Larsen 2008). Aside from a study of cultural content during the 1960s (Nilsson 1974) and some years in the 1990s (compared to Denmark and Norway, e.g. Lund 2005), no similar longitudinal work has been done in Sweden to date, since scholars have not previously defined cultural journalism as a sub-field of research. Based on existing Swedish research, however, there are similarities to Norway regarding cultural journalism's societal role; Swedish cultural desks also share the general Nordic trend of reduced editorial autonomy and specialisation.

As described in the country chapters in the first part of the book, there is humanities research in the specific areas of arts criticism in all the Nordic countries, yet these do not necessarily situate them in relation to the mainstream media institutions of which the journalists are a part. Cultural critics, columnists and thinkers may not consider themselves as a part of the media institutions that circulate their reviews and essays, but their increasing job insecurity demonstrates that journalistic logics and centralised news management are gaining more control. In all four countries, the research relates theoretical notions of cultural journalism to practitioners' definitions of their sub-field. Some researchers have tended to reinforce practitioners' views of the 'decline thesis' which pessimistically declares the end of cultural criticism and the death of cultural and ideological debate (e.g., Jaakkola 2015, Lund 2005, Sarrimo 2016). Other scholars point to the decreasing coverage of classical music (in favor of popular music), theatre (in favor of film) and other popular culture subjects as a reflection of change in lived culture, and as a less hierarchical, elitist cultural journalism, even if this 'democratisation' also reflects globalising and commercialising tendencies of cultural production (e.g., Kristensen 2010, Larsen 2008).

The *concept of cultural journalism* is, as noted above, a difficult one to determine once and for all due to the shifting boundaries of practice, difference in media organisations' interpretations, national cultures and the globalizing media landscape. However, the term itself is accepted and used by Nordic media scholars, whereas international research tends to use the term 'arts journalism', as Anglo-Saxon newspaper vignettes tend to be called 'arts and leisure' or 'arts and letters' (e.g., Szántó, Levy & Tyndall 2004). For their part, French and German newspapers may include this kind of content in a section called "Feuilleton", which, according to Haller (2012 cited in Jaakkola 2015: 19-20), includes literary essays, analysis and wider cultural debate. A narrower set of practices than cultural or arts journalism would be that of criticism, of a particular artistic field, e.g., literary, film or theatre criticism. A broader set of

practices, such as those found in the Nordic context, would be feature writing, debate, literary essays, columns and reportage, which also means that the notion of cultural journalism as opposed to criticism is more inclusive of different types of producers and practices (see also Kristensen & From 2015a, 2015b). This in turn means that the concept of cultural journalism in this book relies on a broad definition of culture: as both 'ways of life' (norms, ethics and values, communicative patterns), and the material aesthetic artefacts and expressions of everyday life and creative endeavor (Nilsson 2003, Williams 2006 [1961]). The broadening concept of culture in mainstream media organisations means that classifications such as high and popular culture, commercial and non-commercial culture have become less relevant over the twentieth century.

A distinction made by Kristensen & From (2011) and further nuanced by Jaakkola (2015) is between 'cultural journalism' and 'journalism about culture', with the former taking place "within specialised production structures of the media organisation and published in special 'arts' or 'cultural' sections of the newspaper" by specialists who are "more or less legitimized agents in artistic fields", and the latter being content produced by non-specialists found in other parts of the newspaper or in other departments than cultural departments (Jaakkola 2015: 22). 'Journalism about culture' arguably depends more on the eye of the beholder, on the scholar's definition of culture and/or the audiences' understanding of the journalist's intention, whereas journalism flagged as culture, i.e. 'cultural journalism', is a clearer subject of analysis. Here the issue is not whether other areas in journalism cover cultural subjects, but that cultural journalism *itself* includes far more subject areas today than previously, i.e. not only architecture, art and humanities, literature, dance, theatre, film, and music but also fashion, gaming, television and media industry analysis. Further, as some practitioners and scholars (e.g., Kristensen & From 2011, Riegert, Roosvall & Widholm 2015) have defined it, cultural journalism depends on who writes or produces it (i.e. cultural journalists, academics, artists and intellectuals) and on the subjective approaches of cultural journalism, or what some practitioners have described as a certain perspective, a 'cultural filter', i.e. a reflective and multifaceted approach which differs from mainstream journalism.

Book outline

In the first part of this book four chapters outline the historic development of cultural journalism during the 20th century and the early 21st centuries in Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden respectively. Based on existing research within the national contexts, the chapters: 1) account for the main media institutions with a tradition of, or great influence over, the transformations of cultural journalism in each country – with clear links to the media systemic models presented above; 2) they focus on the professional developments of the practitioners, including the constant negotiations between their inspirations from the arts world, the media and journalism industry; and 3) they highlight practitioners that have played particular roles in developing

cultural journalism as practice, and scholarship that have contributed to establishing cultural journalism as an academic field of study.

More specifically, Kristensen, From and Kammer, in chapter two, point, firstly, to the gradual blurring of boundaries between art, popular culture, lifestyle, and consumption in Danish cultural journalism. Secondly, the chapter points to three coexisting logics in the professional work of Danish cultural journalists – the logics of (news) journalism, the logics of the media institution and the logics of the aesthetic field. In chapter three, Hellman, Jaakkola and Salokangas outline cultural journalism in Finland, focusing especially on how culture departments in Finnish newspapers have developed in regard to organisation, content and journalistic identity. The chapter identifies three phases, which indicate that some of the changes characterising the other Nordic countries, such as a weakening of cultural distinctions or hierarchies, have arrived later in a Finnish context. Among the Nordic countries, Norway has the longest tradition of studying cultural journalism as a specialised journalistic beat – a tradition much influenced by public sphere theory. In chapter four, Larsen, Hovden and Nygaard, summarize the main arguments presented in this, by now, quite extensive literature, focusing especially on the beat's primary roles of serving as an intermediary between cultural producers and cultural audiences and providing a cultural public arena, not limited to cultural issues but involving burning political and societal questions. While systematic research on cultural journalism has, as indicated, increased especially since the early 2000s in Denmark, Finland and Norway, such research is limited in a Swedish context. In chapter five, Riegert and Roosvall, offer a first overview of important trends, based on historical accounts provided by practitioners and media studies more broadly. A main argument is that the Swedish approach to coverage of, and debates about, culture in leading newspapers and public service includes a more pronounced societal/political aspect as well as significant international components compared to the other Nordic countries.

The second part of the book consists of three case studies comparing cultural journalism in different Nordic countries. Chapter six, by Hellman, Larsen, Riegert, Widholm and Nygaard, compares how Nordic public service media institutions (Finland: YLE; Norway: NRK; Sweden: SVT/SR) define and interpret the cultural dimension of their obligations in the area of cultural news. Relying on policy documents, interviews with the cultural news editors and a sample of one week's broadcast and online cultural news output from November 2015, the study shows distinctive national differences in how these broadcasters conceive of their remits, their resources, and the organization of the cultural news. This is also discernable in the news content during a chosen week. In Chapter seven, Kristensen and Roosvall map similarities and differences between Danish and Swedish editorial/op-ed and cultural opinion articles in the aftermath of the terror attacks in Paris and Copenhagen in early 2015. While the quantitative results point to *similarities* in how the events are understood on a broader level, the qualitative analysis, analyzing polarisations, key concepts, reference points, and linguistic registers, indicates *differences* both between countries and between newspaper sections.

In Chapter eight, From and Sparre analyse the ways that cultural journalists in three national news organisations – *The Telegraph* (United Kingdom), *Svenska Dagbladet* (Sweden) and *Berlingske* (Denmark) – have engaged with and defined what counts as good taste and cool culture in relation to the internationally successful Danish TV series *Borgen*. Though the news organisations use reviews and previews to evaluate *Borgen* as both 'good taste' and 'bad taste', the study shows that tastemaking is also performed outside the cultural pages in articles characterised by hybridisation (Baym 2016), exemplifying the dissolved boundaries between the TV series as commodity and cultural product, the mediation of the TV series, and the real political context.

In the last part of the book Nordic scholars who have done extensive research in fields closely related to cultural journalism provide two essays that give an overview of this research. In Chapter nine, Gripsrud tackles how to define the broad and blurring boundaries of the field of cultural journalism. He does this by situating it in relation to the cultural public sphere and delineating this from the political public sphere; by pointing to three roles that cultural journalism may play in the cultural public sphere – providing identity, empathy and argumentation – and offering historical and contemporary examples of how cultural journalism mediates between aesthetic experience and broader cultural and political influences in society. In Chapter ten, Eide picks up where Gripsrud leaves off, arguing that the professionalisation taking place in (cultural) journalism in the last decades has meant the adoption of a general 'service journalism' ideology, e.g. addressing audience members in their capacity as consumers, private persons and clients rather than as citizens. Eide argues that the service orientation can turn journalism into a recommendations machine but also that differences remain between the practice of the competent cultural reviewer, the advice offered by simplistic service journalism and amateur critics, and that though the encounter between cultural journalism and service journalism might represent a problematic privatisation of the ethos of cultural journalism, it might also stimulate a user-generated cultural critique, contributing to a more vibrant public sphere.

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By means of its historical outlines, case studies and reflective essays, this book aims to contribute Nordic perspectives to the emerging international research agenda on cultural journalism and to spur further interest and research in the field. While cultural journalism is a broad research area, its history in the mainstream media, not least in a Nordic context, is indicative of the intertwined relationship between the cultural and political public spheres – and the importance of the former to the latter. The role of cultural journalism has been particularly important in the debates about freedom of expression, societal criticism, and for journalistic autonomy and specialisation within media organisations in the Nordic countries. Such paths are particularly worth following in an era when culture itself has become central to political and societal debates, when boundaries between hard news and soft news as well as facts and opinion are dissolving, and when digitalisation, convergence and globalisation are influencing the

character of cultural journalism in multiple ways. In the Nordic countries, cultural journalism retains its importance to the democratic debate, humanistic self-reflection, and as a guide to everyday life – and thus to the Nordic media model.

Notes

1. Iceland is not included (see also Ahva et al. 2016), since this book is the outcome of three explorative Workshops on Cultural Journalism in the Nordic Countries, involving Denmark, Norway, Finland and Sweden, and funded by the Joint Committee for Nordic Research Councils in the Humanities and Social Sciences (NOS-HS) in 2014-2015.
2. For methodological documentation of the Worlds of Journalism Study, see http://www.worldsofjournalism.org/research/2012-2015-study/methodological-documentation/ (accessed October 25 2016). See also Appendix 1 for tables. We would like to thank Professor Jan Fredrik Hovden, University of Bergen, for providing us with WJS-data and for validating our analyses.
3. The figures in the tables refer to the number of respondents, who had answered the specific question, so the total for cultural journalists do not always accumulate to 194, and the total for non-cultural journalists do not always accumulate to 3059, since some respondents may not have answered all questions.

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Appendix

Tables

In the Worlds of Journalism Study (WJS) "cultural journalists" were defined as respondents that had listed specializing in "culture" and/or chosen "culture" as their beat speciality; 65 in Denmark, 18 in Finland, 58 in Norway, and 35 in Sweden, or, 194 cultural journalists in total, representing 6 per cent of Nordic journalists in the study (N = 3059 / 1362 in Denmark, 366 in Finland, 656 in Norway, 675 in Sweden, see Ahva et al. 2016:7).[3] While the share of cultural journalists is approximately the same in Denmark, Finland and Sweden (approximately five per cent), it is nine per cent in Norway, suggesting that national variations are not necessarily representative of the number of cultural journalists in each country. In the following we list tables with the empirical data from the WJS.

Table 1. Gender balance among cultural journalists and non-cultural journalists in the Nordic countries (per cent)

	Denmark		Finland		Norway		Sweden	
Gender	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*
Female	59	43	50	56	50	50	60	45
Male	41	58	50	45	50	50	40	55
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
No of respondents	63	1235	18	348	46	432	35	638

Table 2. Highest grade of school or level of education among cultural journalists and non-cultural journalists in the Nordic countries (per cent)

	Denmark		Finland		Norway		Sweden	
Education…	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*
High school or less	2	6	11	12	2	9	3	14
BA	48	66	28	26	61	68	70	51
MA (or PhD)*	50	27	44	48	37	21	18	8
Unfinished degree		1	17	13		3	10	27
Total count	100	100	100	99	100	101	101	100
No of respondents	62	1223	18	348	51	489	33	607

*In Finland 1 per cent of non-cultural journalists have a doctoral degree, while this is the case for 3% of the Swedish cultural journalists.

Table 3. Current type of employment among cultural journalists and non-cultural journalists in the Nordic countries (per cent)

	Denmark		Finland		Norway		Sweden	
	Cultural journalist	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*
Full-time	65	71	61	79	64	73	65	75
Part-time / freelance	32	26	39	21	29	23	36	24
Other	3	3		1	7	4		1
Total count	100	100	100	101	100	100	101	100
No of respondents	65	1297	18	348	56	587	31	558

Table 4. Importance of being a detached observer among cultural journalists and non-cultural journalists in the Nordic countries (per cent)

	Denmark		Finland		Norway		Sweden	
	Cultural journalist	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*
Unimportant/ little importance	15	13	6	2	13	14	3	3
Somewhat important	29	24	6	7	22	24	13	7
Very/ extremely important	57	64	89	91	65	63	84	91
Total count	101	101	101	101	100	101	101	101
No of respondents	62	1278	18	348	54	566	31	554

Table 5. Importance of providing entertainment and relaxation among cultural journalists and non-cultural journalists in the Nordic countries (per cent)

	Denmark		Finland		Norway		Sweden	
	Cultural journalist	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*
Unimportant/ little importance	65	63	29	29	24	38	45	49
Somewhat important	25	27	41	42	41	31	42	36
Very/ extremely important	10	10	29	28	35	32	13	16
Total count	100	100	99	99	100	101	100	101
No of respondents	63	1287	17	347	46	479	31	548

Table 6. Importance of providing advice, orientation and direction for daily life among cultural journalists and non-cultural journalists in the Nordic countries (per cent)

	Denmark		Finland		Norway		Sweden	
	Cultural journalist	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*
Unimportant/ little importance	29	35	45	21	50	42	29	19
Somewhat important	32	37	28	40	36	35	29	41
Very/extremely important	38	27	28	39	14	23	42	40
Total count	99	99	101	99	100	101	100	101
No of respondents	65	1290	18	347	50	479	31	548

Table 7. Personal freedom in selecting news stories among cultural journalists and non-cultural journalists in the Nordic countries (per cent)

	Denmark		Finland		Norway		Sweden	
	Cultural journalist	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*
No/little freedom	2	9		3		10	3	4
Some freedom	22	21	11	24	37	30	15	16
Great deal of/ complete freedom	77	69	89	74	63	60	82	80
Total count	100	100	100	101	100	100	100	100
No of respondents	65	1293	18	346	57	574	33	613

Table 8. Personal freedom in deciding which aspects of a story should be emphasized among cultural journalists and non-cultural journalists in the Nordic countries (per cent)

	Denmark		Finland		Norway		Sweden	
	Cultural journalist	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*	*Cultural journalist*	*Not cultural journalist*
No/little freedom	3	6	6	1	2	4	3	4
Some freedom	13	19	6	19	18	22	15	12
Great deal of/ complete freedom	84	80	89	80	81	75	82	85
Total count	100	100	101	100	100	101	100	100
No of respondents	64	1286	18	346	57	577	33	613

I. Country Overviews

2.

The Changing Logics of Danish Cultural Journalism

Nete Nørgaard Kristensen, Unni From & Aske Kammer

Abstract

Even though it is often overlooked in scholarly and public discussions of the proceedings of the news media, cultural journalism constitutes an important dimension of journalism among media workers as well as audiences. Providing a broad introduction to cultural journalism in Denmark, this chapter outlines the most important historical developments of the field over the last 120 years and identifies central transformations in recent years. It builds upon and reviews the existing body of Danish research in this specialised field and points to new routes for future research. On this basis, the chapter argues that the transformations of cultural journalism relate to *what* is considered within the boundaries of culture and the cultural public sphere, *by whom* and *where* cultural journalism is conducted and published, and *which* professional logics are at play in cultural journalism. For when it comes to cultural journalism, a tension exists between the traditional 'watchdog' understanding of journalism in general and the specificity of cultural journalism, which is characterized by a more experience-based or 'soft' orientation; the chapter addresses this tension through an analysis of recent discussions of cultural journalism's place in the news media.

Keywords: arts journalism, Denmark, cultural journalism, journalism/history, the heterogeneous cultural critic

This chapter provides a broad introduction to cultural journalism in Denmark in the twentieth century and the first decades of the twenty-first. It shows how the historical transformations of cultural journalism in a Danish context over the past 120 years display an increasingly inclusive interpretation of culture and the cultural public sphere; but it also demonstrates how various coexisting or competing professional logics are at play within this specific type of journalism. These changing logics suggest that we can observe an increasing blurring of boundaries: not only between art, popular culture, lifestyle, and consumption in the journalistic treatment of these issues, but also between the cultural and the political, and between news and opinion genres. These are blurred boundaries that extend the field of 'journalism on culture' and make it an important topic in the media and in media and journalism research.

Nørgaard Kristensen, Nete, From, Unni & Kammer, Aske (2017). The Changing Logics of Danish Cultural Journalism in Nete Nørgaard Kristensen & Kristina Riegert (eds) *Cultural Journalism in the Nordic Countries*. Göteborg: Nordicom.

In order to display these specificities of Danish cultural journalism, the chapter consists of four sections. First, it briefly outlines the contours of the Danish media system, emphasising the national media institutions of particular importance to the production and distribution of cultural journalism in this national context. Second, it introduces a short history of Danish cultural journalism research, highlighting the most influential scholars and publications within this (still limited) research field. Though this section focuses primarily on contributions provided by media and journalism studies, it also draws upon publications by practitioners of cultural journalism and cultural critique in order to briefly introduce and exemplify the logics and tone that currently characterise public discussions on cultural journalism in Denmark. Third, on the basis of empirical research, the chapter outlines how the coverage of cultural journalism in Danish newspapers has changed since the beginning of the twentieth century in terms of content and genres. Fourth, it identifies important issues in contemporary cultural journalism, for example, the changes brought about by the institutionalised news media's websites and other digital platforms; the heterogeneity of critical voices in cultural debate; the place of the political in cultural journalism; and new, innovative generic approaches in cultural journalism.

So, the chapter approaches cultural journalism – that is, the institutionalised news media's coverage and debate of topics such as the arts, culture and lifestyle (see also Kristensen & From 2015b) – as a theoretical construct applied 'top-down' to journalistic practices at the same time as it emerges 'bottom-up' from these very practices. Accordingly, the chapter builds upon and reviews the existing body of Danish research in the specialised field of journalism; and as a consequence, it also reproduces the blind spots of this body of scholarly literature. The chapter, ultimately, points to new routes for future research.

Danish media devoted particularly to culture

This section outlines the contours of the Danish media system in order to point to the media political and institutional frameworks that have facilitated the emergence of cultural journalism as a priority in a Danish context, though more in some media than in others.

In accordance with the qualities of the Democratic Corporatist Model (Hallin & Mancini 2004) and the Media Welfare Model (Syvertsen et al. 2014), both of which are outlined in the introductory chapter of this anthology, a strong journalistic professionalism characterises the Danish media system. This professionalism is a result of, among other things, the decline of the party press in the first half of the twentieth century, a development that gave rise to a large degree of professional autonomy from economic and political pressures. The introduction of journalism study programmes, especially from the early 1970s, and the institutionalisation of self-regulatory ethical guidelines, especially since the early 1990s, supported this development and contrib-

uted to increasing professionalisation among Danish journalists.[1] Though autonomy and ethics are key ideologies for the journalistic media (Albæk et al. 2015, Deuze 2005), Denmark has a long tradition of a hybrid media model with both private and public news media and a combination of direct and indirect press subsidies (see Kammer 2017, for an overview). In the following, two specific media organisations are highlighted in view of their particular importance, historically and to this day, to Danish cultural journalism: the public service broadcaster, Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR), and the privately owned (but publicly subsidised) quality newspaper, *Politiken*.

The Danish Broadcasting Corporation

DR is the primary public service radio and television broadcaster in a market that also comprises commercial broadcasters such as TV 2 (the most important competitor on television), MTG/Viasat, and SBS Discovery Media. DR is financed through licence fees, the size of which is decided by the parliament. Despite this political control over its financial framework, DR is an independent media organisation in which the arm's length principle prevents direct or detailed political influence on daily management and editorial decisions. However, DR has since 1990 been subject to 'public service contracts' outlining the organisation's broader societal obligations (Lassen 2012: 238). These obligations include providing public service on Danish culture by broadcasting and (co-)producing Danish (television and radio) programmes that focus on art and culture from all Danish regions. These are to include topics such as "culture (among other things cultural history), literature, media (among other things film and theatre), ballet, opera and art, and architecture" (DR's Public Service Contract 2015-2018; see also Syvertsen et al. 2015, Lassen 2012).[2]

Before 1990, and especially during the period of monopoly (until 1983 for radio and 1988 for television), public service in general and cultural programmes more specifically were tasked with the education of the public, and therefore cultural programmes were developed to offer 'good taste' and quality culture (Hughes 1998: 16f). Even though DR's definition of culture was, both then and now, relatively vague, Danish public service radio and television have, in various ways, been associated with the development of the welfare state (Syvertsen et al. 2014). As argued by Hjarvard (2006), Danish television has, for example, since its introduction in 1951 provided the public with important narratives on subcultures in Denmark (e.g. *Nørrebro-profiler*), documentaries and fictions on Danish history (e.g. *Gamle Danmark*, a documentary, and *Bryggeren*, a TV serial) and produced theatre for television based on classic Danish literature (e.g. *Fiskerne*). Similarly, Danish radio has since its introduction in 1926 provided more fine arts than popular culture by transmitting operas and classical music rather than jazz and popular music (Hanghøj & Knudsen 2006: 14). However, especially since the 1950s DR has also transmitted popular music, radio features, and documentaries focusing on a variety of subcul-

tures, not as a substitute for but as an addition to, for example, classical music. This way, DR as an institution both reflects existing national and international culture and cultural production *and* is itself a producer of culture and cultural goods. In this sense DR, and radio and television more broadly, plays a democratising cultural role by displaying the mixture of society's subcultures and by broadcasting both high art and popular culture (Hjarvard 2006: 17, Svendsen 2013). This is especially observable since the break up of DR's TV monopoly, after which consumer culture, lifestyle programmes, and professional cultural production have become part of flow TV. Similarly, Danish radio features of the 1950s and 1960s exposed an ongoing conflict between elite and mass culture by bringing entertainment and analyses of different kinds of subcultures into everyday life (e.g. Viggo Clausen's features *Så tilspørger jeg dig* (1952); see Bondebjerg 1990).

Today, DR has six TV channels, one of which, *DR K,* established in 2009, is specifically devoted to art and culture. Under the slogan "DR K – the passionate culture channel", this channel aims to communicate:

> art, history, and the large questions of life with insight, enthusiasm and curiosity. DR K wishes to inspire the Danes to explore history and culture and provide insight that creates reflection and gives the world perspective. DR K puts culture, history and the large questions of life in a Danish and international perspective.[3]

This statement exemplifies the broad approach to culture that lies at the heart of DR.

Today DR operates eight radio channels with specific target groups and profiles (Hanghøj & Knudsen 2006: 23f). The talk radio channel P1 is the central venue for cultural coverage and debate. This channel, for example, broadcasts two hours of cultural journalism on a daily basis, *P1 Eftermiddag* [P1 Afternoon], framed as follows on the programme website: "The door is open when Karen Secher, Tore Leifer, and Ole Brink mix civilisation and culture with wonder and curiosity during two hours of live radio."[4] Throughout the week the channel also airs several magazine programmes about film, literature, media, and culture in general.

DR also operates dr.dk – a website that not only presents DR's radio and television programmes but also publishes daily news on culture. And finally, DR is present on social media. Programmes and channels, for example, have their own Facebook pages, and there are pages providing marketing material on DR productions and encouraging public discussions related to programmes. This way, DR is a multiplatform media organisation, offering culture in various genres and formats to diverse user segments. In view of its publicly funded yearly budget of approximately 3.7 billion DKK (approximately 0.5 billion EUR) and the political and public interests vested in this media organisation, recurring public debates address whether DR does, in fact, fulfil its public service obligations, for example, in regard to culture.[5]

Politiken

The Danish media system also includes a variety of privately owned newspapers, which operate on market terms but also receive direct state subsidies (for the production of content) as well as indirect subsidies (tax exemption).[6] Some of these newspapers, typically categorised as 'quality' or 'elite' newspapers, are – in accordance with Hallin and Mancini's model (2004) – characterised by relatively high circulations (in print and increasingly online) and by political parallelism, a feature that has provided the Danish media system with 'external pluralism' (see also Allern & Blach-Ørsten 2011, Hjarvard & Kammer 2015, Søndergaard & Helles 2014), in that links remain between political ideologies and specific newspapers, even though the Danish party press weakened decades ago. Some scholars even speak of a re-politization (Blach-Ørsten & Kristensen 2016, Hjarvard 2007, 2010; Hjarvard & Kristensen 2014), since a variety of Danish newspapers coexist which parallel the political spectrum and/or address various reader segments (Schultz 2007). On a similar note, some speak of a cultural segmentation, particularly of newspaper audiences, since some readers choose specific newspapers for their approach to cultural issues (From 2010, Kristensen & From 2011: 253). One significant characteristic of the Danish newspaper market is that the newspapers provide "*public service for private money*" (Jensen 2003: 125, emphasis in original). Even though this market also includes tabloids, a free daily, niche newspapers, and local and regional newspapers, the national quality newspapers are the most significant in the Danish food chain of newspapers (Lund et al. 2009), also when it comes to the coverage of culture (Kristensen 2016, Kristensen & From 2011).

The dominant and, arguably, most important Danish newspaper in the field of cultural journalism and cultural agenda setting is the social–liberal quality newspaper *Politiken* (ibid.) This newspaper is not only one of the most circulated newspapers in Denmark,[7] it is also the only Danish newspaper still printed in broadsheet. It was founded in 1884, and over the twentieth century it was a pioneer in regard to its separation from political ties and its introduction of a broader selection of topics intended to target wider audiences, including lifestyle and consumer-related issues. *Politiken* has for long been known for balancing between being a 'news-paper' and a 'views-paper' (Bredal 2009), exemplified by the chronicle, a longer commentary genre introduced in 1905 by then editor-in-chief Henrik Cavling as part of the reform of Danish newspapers from party press to omnibus press. More importantly, *Politiken* is renowned for giving a greater priority to art and culture than any other Danish newspaper and for approaching culture from a variety of sociocultural and historical perspectives (Kristensen & From 2011: 108). "Rather a poet than a CEO on the front page", as Bredal put it (2009: 358). This cultural profile was during the twentieth century influenced by famous cultural personas – authors, poets, intellectuals, and academics such as Viggo Hørup, Herman Bang, Piet Hein, Paul Hammerich, Thomas Bredsdorff, Lise Nørgaard, Carsten Jensen, and Rune Lykkeberg – who have worked at *Politiken* as

Viggo Hørup, born in 1841, was one of the founding fathers of the newspaper *Politiken.* Originally a lawyer and politician, he initiated the newspaper in 1884 in collaboration with politician, critic and author Edvard Brandes and businessman Hermann Meyer Bing, based on their social-iberal convictions. Hørup was editor-in-chief of the newspaper until his death in 1902.

Lise Nørgaard, born in 1917, is a Danish journalist and author working at newspapers such as *Roskilde Dagblad*, *Berlingske Tidende* and *Politiken*. While on the staff of *Politiken* (from 1949 to 1968), consumer journalism was her main field, but besides putting fashion on the cultural agenda and even the front page (Jørgensen 2014), she also produced celebrity interviews, adding an analytical, personal, and humoristic style to Danish journalism.

Rune Lykkeberg, born in 1974, was cultural editor of *Politiken* 2013-2016. He has also worked at the monthly publication *PRESS* and the niche newspaper *Information* and has published books on Danish society. Exemplifying a "media intellectual" (Townsley & Jacobs 2011), he reflects critically on contemporary society, while using *Politiken* as platform to perform and consolidate this public brand. In 2016, he became editor-in-chief of Information.

cultural journalists, critics, and editors, and who contributed to the 'culturally radical' profile of the newspaper, constantly contesting authority and tradition.

Given *Politiken*'s powerful position as cultural agenda setter, one could argue that the newspaper has today become an institutionalised part of the cultural power elite in Denmark that it originally set out to challenge. At the very least, culture is today a distinct commercial branding strategy at *Politiken* (Kristensen & From 2011: 230), and typical *Politiken* readers are characterised by, among other things, their academic literacy and preference for culture.[8] More concretely, *Politiken* has a daily cultural section and, on specific weekdays, various special sections devoted to particular cultural topics such as film and television, travel, everyday life, books, food and living, etc.[9]

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This way, both DR and *Politiken* have a long history of cultural journalism, and both continue to be important providers of cultural journalism in a Danish context. Whereas studies of journalism in a US context have tended to show cultural journalism being prioritised less and less (Szántó et al. 2004), the media-systemic frameworks and historical press roots in the Danish context may explain why cultural journalism seems to be thriving, at least in some parts of the Danish media landscape. At the same time, more recent media-systemic and historical changes, especially increasing market competition and commercialisation during the past three decades, may explain why culture has become such a distinct branding strategy for these particular news media – and less for their competitors.[10]

Danish research and literature on (cultural) journalism

This section presents an overview of Danish research and literature on cultural journalism. It emphasises two approaches, namely academic research, including historical accounts of the press, and practitioners' perspectives. Though to some extent anecdotal and polemical, the practitioners' perspectives exemplify some of the more theoretical research perspectives, and are therefore important supplements in their own right.

Academic research: historical and longitudinal studies of cultural journalism

For a long time, the larger press-historical accounts examined cultural journalism as one (minor) element of the broader historical transformations of the form and content of the news media. This was the case with Søllinge and Thomsen's bibliography and register of Danish newspapers (1988-1991) and Jensen's four volumes on *Danish Media History*, covering the years 1840 to 2015 (2001-2016). Of particular importance to the study of cultural journalism is the outline of the reform of Danish newspapers from party press to omnibus over the course of the twentieth century, and of the introduction of public service broadcasting. As part of this transformation, Danish newspapers broadened their selection of content to include, in addition to politics and literature, news, culture broadly speaking, lifestyle, everyday life, etc. In this period, public service became a cornerstone not only of the professional approach to journalism in Denmark more generally, but also of the prioritisation and interpretation of culture. This way, parts of the broader press and media historical accounts also address the media's coverage of and approach to art and culture, though not in detail.

Still, as with journalism studies in general, cultural journalism research is a fairly recent field in Denmark. Since the early 1970s, media studies have included news and journalism as part of their topics of scrutiny (e.g. Mortensen 1972, Siune 1982), but journalism studies only became a more distinct field of research in the late 1990s, among other things with the introduction of academic journalism study programmes. Over the past 15 years, scholarship has primarily been dominated by *political journalism*. This has included the institutional, technological and professional context of the production, content, and use of news and journalism. Media and journalism scholars have conducted this research for the most part, political scientists to a lesser degree (Kristensen & Blach-Ørsten 2015). Due to the predominance of interest in news media and journalists' operationalisation of their ideal roles as a fourth estate and their contribution to the political public sphere, issues such as culture, lifestyle, and consumption have been somewhat neglected.

However, since the early 1990s and especially the 2000s, research has emerged in Denmark, both on art and culture as distinct fields of journalism and on cultural journalists and critics as distinct types of journalists or communicators of culture. Unlike Norwegian studies in the same period (e.g. Bech-Karlsen 1991, Lund 2005),

this research has not taken as its point of departure that cultural journalism has been in decline due to commercialisation and decreasing aesthetic contemplation of art for art's sake. Because of the lack of systematic analyses of journalists' approach to culture, Danish scholars have instead applied more descriptive methodologies in order to examine *what* cultural journalism is, *how* the field can be conceptualised theoretically, and *how* the production and content of cultural journalism have changed in light of cultural, societal, and media-related transformations (e.g. Jørgensen 1991, 1994; Kristensen 2003, 2010; Kristensen & From 2011). This research has mostly focused on the printed press and on the cultural review as genre.

One of the pioneers in this field is literary scholar John Chr. Jørgensen, who has studied literary critique and has also worked as a literary critic (at *Politiken* and the tabloid *Ekstra Bladet*) and, this way, combines academic and practice-based approaches. He has published a range of books on cultural journalism and cultural critique since the 1980s that can, roughly, be divided into three approaches. First, he has produced handbooks and research on the genres of cultural journalism. Of particular scholarly importance is his dissertation of 1994, which analyses the development of the Danish literary review during the nineteenth century. His handbook on the genres of the cultural pages (1991) has been widely used in academic teaching and at media schools. Second, he has authored books on the style and language of cultural journalism in general (e.g. 2007) and reviews more specifically (e.g. 1999). And third, Jørgensen has over the long term studied significant Danish cultural critics and journalists by portraying, for example, author and journalist Lise Nørgaard (2014), author and journalist Klaus Rifbjerg (1995), and critic, journalist, and author Herman Bang (2003), while also providing a register with 146 biographies of cultural critics (1992) as well as a book on noteworthy female journalists during the past 100 years (2012). Even though this last work is an analysis of female journalists in general rather than female *cultural* journalists specifically, it outlines a period of journalism in transition (especially after the Second World War) during which the cultural pages and consumer material changed radically (Jørgensen 2012). While these tendencies are not exclusively bound to how women have increasingly become journalists, it is noteworthy how many female journalists have worked with 'soft news' and pioneered as well as broadened the perspectives of cultural journalism. This way, with more than 20 published works on journalists and journalism, and cultural journalism and cultural critics in particular, John Chr. Jørgensen is one of the early prominent scholars in his field. He paved the way for a new research agenda on cultural journalism in Denmark.

One feature of the journalistic 'turn' in Danish media studies in the early 2000s was increasing interest among media scholars in scrutinising cultural journalism. Kristensen (2003), for example, used surveys and qualitative interviews to investigate the increasing professionalisation of the cultural industries' interplay with the news media. Her study points to cultural journalists having distinctively different conceptions of their societal role and obligations than other types of journalists (see also Forde 2003, Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen 2007), since they are closely intertwined with

their sources from the cultural industries and act as cultural intermediaries (Bourdieu 1984) between cultural producers and cultural audiences rather than as autonomous, critical watchdogs (see also Kristensen & From 2015a, 2015b; Marshall 2009).

In the late 2000s, on the basis of a mixed methods approach, Kristensen and From conducted a large-scale study on the historical transformations of the coverage of art and culture in the Danish press 1890-2008 and on the production and reception of contemporary cultural journalism (From 2010, Kristensen 2010, Kristensen & From 2011, 2012). Their studies apply three perspectives that may serve to indicate how changes in cultural journalism are part of broader cultural and societal transformations. First, they took a broad approach to the concept of 'culture' in order to show how cultural change in light of globalisation (Janssen et al. 2008, 2011; Knapskog & Larsen 2008) has transformed the conception of art, culture, and aesthetics, and how cultural journalism as a part of the media and cultural industry has reflected, but also influenced this change. A second approach was to use mediatization as a theoretical concept that might help to explain how the increasing independence and commercialisation of the news media during the second part of the twentieth century has influenced and changed not only the interaction of media and cultural institutions (Hjarvard 2008, 2013), but also the interplay of media and audiences. Third, they addressed the professional transformation of cultural journalism in light of media institutional and technological changes during the twentieth century. These three, interlinked types of structural transformation seem to suggest that the professional cultural journalist today wins authority by way of three coexisting, but potentially also competing types of professionalism (Kristensen & From 2015c). The first of these is an organisational professionalism dominated by media logics (cf. Örnebring 2009), prioritising the efficient and commercially sound production of cultural journalism by cultural journalists who cover various cultural areas and produce 'news you can use' on art and culture to several platforms. The second type of professionalism is an occupational professionalism that is dominated by the logics of news journalism, where cultural journalists apply a critical, investigative, original and independent approach to the coverage of culture. The third type is an aesthetic specialisation, as coined by Hellman & Jaakkola (2012), whereby cultural journalists approach art and culture on art and culture's own terms, rather than on the terms of media logic or the logics of news journalism.

In addition to these somewhat systematic approaches, other scholars have in single publications – in books or in scholarly articles – addressed cultural journalism and topics associated with this specialised type of journalism. Cultural critique and the cultural review as genre have been a particular focus of attention. To mention a few, the reviewing of theatre and literature as critical practice has been addressed from various perspectives by, for example, Bredsdorff, Jørgensen, and Klysner (1983) and Svendsen (2013), while Schepelern (1995) outlined the critical discussions of film in Denmark during the twentieth century in various institutional settings (e.g. in the art world, in politics, in academia, and in the press). Parts of Teilmann's more recent (2010) book

on cultural life also address culture in the news media, though not based on systematic analyses. Celebrity news in Denmark has been studied by Sparre and Kabel (2001), who point to two aspects of importance to contemporary cultural journalism: first, that Danish celebrity journalism has become increasingly intertwined with cultural journalism (see also Marshall 2009), and, second, that celebrities are increasingly important in the marketing and circulation of cultural products, including cultural journalism (see also Kristensen 2016).

Though not definitive, this outline of recent Danish research on cultural journalism illustrates that the field has been the object of attention of scholars across various humanistic disciplines. At the same time, it constitutes a new topic on the research agenda of journalism and media studies, which in recent years have provided more systematic and consistent approaches. That development also means that a more varied set of methodologies, theoretical frameworks, and focus areas have been applied since the turn of the millennium.

Practitioners' perspectives and the public debate

Practitioners from the cultural circuits have also contributed to the recurring public debate in Denmark on the state of cultural journalism. What characterises this debate is a somewhat critical tone that in many ways mirrors, but also supports the three competing types of professionalism outlined above within cultural journalism: the journalistic logic or news paradigm, the aesthetic paradigm, and the media logic. In order to emphasise the interplay of research and practice, we highlight in what follows three contemporary voices in the public debate on cultural journalism, which exemplify these three types of professionalisms.

One voice, representing the journalistic logic, is Lasse Marker.[11] In 2014 he published a short polemical book with the telling title *Six Reasons Why Nothing Worth a Damn is Happening in Danish Cultural Life* (authors' translation). In it, he uses his own experiences as a producer of cultural journalism to castigate Danish cultural journalists for running the errands of the cultural industry. He argues that cultural journalists should conduct independent, investigative journalism like traditional news reporters, for example by looking more deeply into the public and private funding of art and culture, rather than fraternising with the cultural industries. Marker's argument should be understood in the context of the numerous subsidy schemes and institutions that exist to facilitate art and culture in the Danish welfare state. The state spends around 13 billion DKK (1.7 billion EUR) on public funding of culture every year (or approximately 1 percent of the total yearly public expenses in Denmark; see Hjorth-Andersen 2013: 347). Research, however, shows that cultural politics and the allocation of subsidies for art and culture do not have a high priority in Danish cultural journalism (Kristensen 2003, 2016; Kristensen & From 2011). So, Marker exemplifies the occupational professionalism and journalistic logic of cultural journalism by regarding cultural journalism as, first and foremost, *news* journalism, but also

by sidestepping defining aspects of this specialised type of journalism. For example, viewing the political aspects of cultural journalism as mainly connected to political institutions may be a somewhat strict approach that does not take 'the political' in culture and everyday life into account (Riegert et al. 2015). Furthermore, Marker largely disregards the cultural review as a genre, which in many ways contradicts the history of cultural journalism, since the review has played an important role as a distinct and formative genre.[12]

Representing another position in the public debate, Anne Middelboe Christensen[13] subscribes to the aesthetic paradigm and focuses primarily on the genre of cultural reviews (see, in particular, her semi-academic book *Enthusiasm and Brutality,* 2012, authors' translation). She argues that professional cultural journalism and critique are important to democracy but that it must take its point of departure in academic knowledge of the particular cultural subfield under review (i.e. in aesthetic specialisation; see also Hellman & Jaakkola 2012) in order to provide a basis for qualified discourse on art and culture. So, she is concerned about the position of the cultural critic in contemporary journalism, because she finds that journalistic logics favour other genres (interviews and reportages) at the expense of aesthetic critique (Christensen 2012: 43). Scholarly research can, indeed, confirm a changing genre focus, since portraits and interviews have come more to the fore in cultural journalism (Kristensen & From 2011). But it cannot unequivocally confirm that cultural criticism, epitomised in the review, has become marginalised, even though cultural reviews are more prominent in some news media than in others and have become more service-oriented (Kristensen 2009, 2016; Kristensen & From 2011). This way in contrast to Marker, Christensen exemplifies the aesthetic approach to cultural journalism in general (and to reviewing or cultural critique more specifically) by emphasising the need to critically debate art and culture on their own terms, rather than on the terms of news journalism.

A third voice in the current public debate belongs to Christian Have, a public relations agent over many years for various Danish cultural institutions and producers. On the basis of practical experience, Have has published several books on cultural promotion by means of, among other channels, the news media, and so his approach exemplifies the organisational or media-logical approach to cultural journalism. His main argument – and the title of two of his books (2004, 2012) – is that *Visibility is Existence*; this is, that cultural producers and artists need to adapt to the logics of the media to become visible and gain public attention. In this way, Have echoes media research that points to media visibility and mediatization as significant tendencies across all areas of contemporary society (e.g. Hjarvard 2013, Thompson 2005) and in the cultural public sphere as well. Though Have applies a cross-media perspective, he does view the news media as the "real power in society and in the media universe" (Have 2012: 69, authors' translation), pointing to the continued importance of cultural journalism in cultural promotion in a media landscape of many platforms and communication channels. He exemplifies how the logics of the cultural industries and the media intertwine, since the cultural industries develop cultural events adapted to the

criteria of cultural journalism and specific media, while cultural journalism (mainly) covers cultural events supporting the media institution's cultural brand.

While the first two voices apply critical approaches to cultural journalism, though from very different positions, by arguing why and how it should submit more to the logics of journalism or more to the logics of aesthetic contemplation, the third voice assumes a middle-ground position that recognises how cultural journalism is both news and aesthetic reflection – more news in some media contexts, more reflection in others.

The transformations of Danish cultural journalism

This section highlights a number of structural changes in Danish cultural journalism in order to provide an overview of important characteristics. It is based on Kristensen and From's studies of Danish newspaper coverage of art and culture during the twentieth century and the first decade of the twenty-first, which point to culture as an increasingly important and distinct topic in Danish journalism (Kristensen 2010, 2016; Kristensen & From 2011, 2015a).

While culture was covered side by side or intermeshed with a range of other topics in the early twentieth century, it has its own newspaper pages or sections today. The implication is that culture is considered an important topic editorially for both editorial and commercial reasons. At the same time, there is a blurring of boundaries between topics such as art, culture, lifestyle, consumption, and celebrity culture, since journalists apply lifestyle approaches to culture and provide consumer information (i.e. ratings) when they review cultural products and aesthetic artefacts. Furthermore, celebrity, art, and culture intertwine as the private lives and behaviours of artists and stars become a centre of attention of cultural journalism. This observation points to the paradox that while cultural journalism seems to be thriving, its distinct characteristics are, once again, blurring – in particular the more traditional aesthetic traits.

In regard to generic approaches, contemporary cultural journalism, at least in Danish broadsheets, applies a variety of genres. Contrary to what studies from Norway have suggested (Bech-Karlsen 1991, Lund 2005), these are not limited to previews and service-oriented reviews. Since the 1970s, broadsheet newspapers have provided a mix of long reads, news articles, and reviews (Kristensen & From 2011: 154). The review, however, continues to be a constitutive genre of cultural journalism, providing both a service for the cultural consumer and facilitating critical reflection in the public debate.

When it comes to change in the cultural outlook of Danish newspapers, five main tendencies are apparent:

- The coverage of some subjects has been quite stable over the century – for example, literature, which has been a dominating topic across the twentieth century and still is.

- The focus has shifted within certain cultural domains. Not surprisingly, the focal point of music coverage has changed from classical music to jazz, rock, pop, etc. Similarly, while royal family members were a centre of attention in the early twentieth century, they have to some extent been replaced by celebrities from the cultural scene concurrently with increasing coverage of culture and the media industry.
- A number of subjects have experienced longer or shorter 'golden age' periods – for example film, which was a dominant subject in the press for several decades after the introduction of talking pictures in the 1930s. Likewise, everyday life topics (children, family, relationships, sex, etc.) were covered quite intensely in the 1960s and 1970s at the time of women's liberation and transformations of family structures.
- A number of cultural fields have experienced an actual marginalisation – especially theatre, which was a dominant subject before the Second World War but has been covered less intensively since the 1970s. Likewise, folk culture was central in the early twentieth century, but with the growing number of mass entertainment and media offering over the century, its role has diminished.
- A range of new topics has entered the cultural columns; in particular the media themselves have become a topic since the early 1960s after the introduction of television in Denmark in the early 1950s. Consumer-related issues such as food, tourism, cars, etc., have also enjoyed an increasing coverage since the early 1960s (i.e. from the heyday of early consumer culture and onwards).

These findings, mirroring the conclusions of European and Nordic studies (e.g. Jaakkola 2015, Janssen et al. 2008, Knapskog & Larsen 2008), point to an increasingly inclusive interpretation of culture: the Danish press has taken a quite broad approach during most of the twentieth century by covering family life, folk culture, lifestyle, literature, and visual arts side by side for many years, but the cultural focus has, at the same time, expanded even more in light of consumer culture, new media, and celebrity culture.

This way, culture today is a shared topic of priority in many Danish news media, and yet at the same time it is a field of media institutional differentiation or distinction. While Danish political journalism is characterised by a shared agenda covered by most news media (Blach-Ørsten & Willig 2016, Lund et al. 2009), the various newspapers try to develop clear cultural profiles. They do this by means of the specific topics they cover within the very broad field of culture, by means of how they approach these cultural topics generically (e.g. news-you-can-use, critical approaches, culture-historical approaches, celebrity perspectives), and by means of the journalists – or personas – they hire to cover or brand their cultural journalism. This strategy links to the increasingly competitive media environment in the digital age, in which cultural journalism may, at least to some news media, for example a newspaper like *Politiken,* be a clear priority and field of distinction within and across platforms.

Contemporary tendencies in cultural journalism and research

This last section points to three current tendencies in cultural journalism practice and research: a cross-media perspective, a political perspective, and a genre perspective.

First, cross-media and digital perspectives are significant in contemporary cultural journalism and, accordingly, in research on cultural journalism. Today, established news organisations provide cultural journalism across platforms; and for some time, research has investigated whether this entails increasing diversification or homogenisation of journalism (e.g. Powers & Benson 2014). An updated analysis of cultural journalism in print and web by Danish newspaper organisations (Kristensen 2016) supports findings in international research that, more generally, suggest that the legacy media's websites do not offer a distinctively different version of either journalism or cultural journalism (e.g. Barnhurst 2012, Finnemann & Thomasen 2005, Quandt 2008). The printed versions of Danish newspapers still assume a dominant position as providers of cultural journalism, the broadsheet *Politiken* continues to be Denmark's principal cultural newspaper, and despite minor differences between platforms, the same five topics (film, celebrities, literature, popular music, and media) are covered the most in legacy media's print as well as online versions. That points to the continuing importance of popular cultural areas, but also to a clear link between the editorial prioritisation of cultural topics and the Danish population's consumption of culture, since film, literature, and music are among the cultural areas consumed the most by Danes (The Danish Ministry of Culture 2012). Furthermore, it points to the celebrification of (cultural) journalism that is also indicated by international research (e.g. Dubied & Hanitzsch 2014, Turner 2014), since celebrity aspects of culture seem to be important both in print and (especially) online.

The digital media environment has further entailed that professional cultural journalists compete with a range of new voices in the cultural public debate. These include contemplative intellectuals and pundits, but also celebrities or "media made arbiters of taste" (Kristensen & From 2015c). Of particular importance are, however, the enthusiastic amateurs who in recent years have engaged in debating art and culture in various digital forums. A study of Danish websites for amateur reviews of cultural products such as literature and film (Kammer 2015), for example, points to the paradox that this kind of "post-industrial cultural criticism" (a term appropriated from Anderson, Bell, and Shirky 2012) on the one hand represents an extensive and diverse field for the public discussion and negotiation of cultural values and hierarchies by giving voice to everyday users of culture. But on the other hand, these agents often have an educational or professional background within the cultural field they scrutinise as they are university students, upcoming critics, or retired academic experts. In that sense, the digital forums both challenge and reproduce the hierarchies known from established media institutions. The implication is that cultural journalism today constitutes a complex negotiation between institutionalised voices in the established media and amateur voices outside of them. Adding to this complexity are the blurring

boundaries between the professional roles and private personas of cultural journalists when they perform on social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram (see also Canter 2015, Kristensen & From 2015c).

Second, another important topic in contemporary cultural journalism is the potentially political aspects of the field. As indicated above, research shows that cultural journalists only occasionally address institutionalised or political aspects of culture, such as cultural policies and the distribution of public funds to various cultural fields (Kristensen 2016, Kristensen & From 2011). This is in fact one of the arguments put forward when critics rail against cultural journalists. However, as emphasised by Riegert et al. (2015) in their work on "the political in the cultural" in a Swedish context, this may be too narrow a demarcation of the political aspects of cultural journalism. With regards to contemporary – political – tendencies in cultural journalism in a Danish context, the Mohammed cartoon controversy of 2005/06 stands out as an extreme but also exemplary case, because it demonstrates different or even new roles for cultural journalism, which correspond to the re-politization hypothesis, as in this case a cultural desk advocated a political agenda. Commissioned by the cultural editor of the Danish broadsheet newspaper *Jyllands-Posten,* the cartoons provoked political and cultural conflict all over the world, instigated what is likely the gravest international political crisis that Denmark has experienced in recent years, and prompted extensive public debate about national culture and identity (e.g. Stage 2011). For better or for worse, this case demonstrated the political potential and power of cultural journalism. It also implies that cultural journalism in a Danish context is not delimited to the fields of aesthetics and arts, or to mediating between cultural producers and audiences, but may also address issues such as democracy, religion, freedom of speech, etc. Scholars have, however, only to a rather limited extent addressed this kind of 'political' role in Danish cultural journalism, even though it constitutes an important area with a large potential for nuancing the current knowledge and conception of cultural journalism in both theory and practice.

Third, we suggest that the contemporary genre-related innovations in journalism, exemplified by the increased use of long-form formats and multimodal narratives on, especially, digital platforms and in special newspaper sections,[14] have close ties to cultural journalism. Long-form or feature journalism has a long history (Bech-Karlsen 1988, Steensen 2011) and is typically characterised by its 'human interest' stories (Steensen 2011) and the "personal experience and observations of the writer" (Reddick 1949: 4). Some scholars claim that the priority currently given to these long formats – in traditional newspapers as well as in innovative, independent media businesses – marks a shift in journalism more broadly that can 'save' journalism at a time of major cuts when sustainable business models are lacking (Steensen 2009). One could, however, argue that cultural journalism has predated this increasingly interpretive and personalised turn of journalism, since pundits blurring the boundaries between views and news and immersive, personalised, and engaging genres have characterised cultural journalism for many years. Long-form journalism, for example, draws upon

genres and thematic storylines which are often associated with cultural journalism and which have, also for many years, been characterised as 'soft news' as well as by the journalists' more personal styles of writing (Kristensen 2003). Not only do the defining genres of cultural journalism often intermesh views and news, as exemplified by the cultural review; cultural journalists and critics are today also expected to provide a personal touch or signature to their journalistic storytelling, in order to engage audiences as part of this specialised journalistic field's branding strategy and the news media's broader commercial policies (Kristensen 2003, Kristensen & From 2011). More research on digital journalism genres is needed, however, to fully understand their characteristics, their business potential, and their more specific ties to cultural journalism.

Conclusion

In addition to presenting an overview of the (still limited) Danish research literature on cultural journalism, this chapter has outlined the most important developments and institutional settings of cultural journalism in Denmark, emphasising the most important discussions in the field. A recurring tension within the field and in the public debate about it remains what the role of cultural journalism should be. Should it be in the line of 'fourth estate' thinking and political journalism as the 'news paradigm' suggests? Or could it exist as a category of media content that reports on and analyses culture while at the same time itself constituting a cultural product? It can be argued that cultural journalism is and should be all of the above – by using recent, or even breaking, events as a point of departure for telling engaging stories with depth and alternative outlooks, and providing cultural and humanistic perspectives to a range of political and commercialised occurrences – with the aim of informing cultural citizens, entertaining media users, and guiding cultural consumers.

Notes

1. Besides sporadic journalism courses from the mid-twentieth century, journalism study programmes were first introduced at the Danish School of Journalism in the early 1970s, and subsequently at Roskilde University, University of Southern Denmark, and Aarhus University in the late 1990s and mid-2000s (Kristensen 2003). Since the 1930s various attempts have been made to formulate ethical guidelines for journalists, but it was not until the introduction of the Media Responsibility Act in 1991 that self-regulatory ethical guidelines were institutionalised (Danish Agency for Culture 2015).
2. See the current public service contract (translated by the authors): Available at http://kum.dk/fileadmin/KUM/Documents/Kulturpolitik/medier/DR/Public_Serviceaftale_2015-18/DR_public_service-kontrakt_for_2015-2018.pdf, pp. 19. [Accessed 1 March, 2016].
3. Translated by the authors, see: http://www.dr.dk/Om_DR/Fakta+om+DR/Artikler/2014/07/15134140.htm. [Accessed 6 July, 2015].
4. Translated by the authors, see: http://www.dr.dk/p1/p1-eftermiddag [Accessed 22 September, 2015].

5. Outbursts such as 'The Danish Academy: DR neglects culture'/'Det Danske Akademi: DR svigter kulturen' (Nils Thorsen, *Politiken,* 2 October, 2007), 'DR has failed literature'/'DR svigter litteraturen" (Jes Stein Pedersen, Politiken.dk, 12 November, 2012) and 'DR lets jazz music down'/'DR svigter jazzmusikken' (Peter Schollert, *Jyllands-Posten,* 24 February, 2014) recurrently make the headlines in Danish news media.
6. While the public subsidies used to favour print media, the 2013/2014-subsidy reform made subsidies platform neutral since potentially any outlet that produces (written news) journalism can be subsidised based on application (Hjarvard & Kammer 2015).
7. Apart from the free daily *MetroXpress*, *Politiken* is today the most read Danish newspaper with 307,000 daily readers on weekdays and 371,000 readers of the Sunday edition (see Gallup Q1, 2015: http://www.gallup.dk/work/media/laesertal/L%C3%A6sertal%204k1k%202015.pdf [Accessed 6 July, 2015].
8. See http://www2.tns-gallup.dk/vores-markedsfokus/medier/printmedier/gallupkompas/kompas-segmenter.aspx. [Accessed 6 July, 2015].
9. See http://politikenannoncer.dk/annoncering/printannoncering/sektioner/. [Accessed 8 July, 2015].
10. Historically, also the newspapers *Berlingske Tidende*, *Information*, and *Kristeligt Dagblad* have given priority to various cultural fields. However, in the 2010s, especially *Weekendavisen* and *Information* have – besides *Politiken* – given the cultural field a prominent position in their brand profiles. In addition, a number of other written publications have played an important part in the history of Danish cultural journalism and critique, characterised by their semi-academic and analytical approach to professionally produced culture, or by being produced by producing artists. Among the most prominent ones are periodicals such as *Vindrosen* (literary magazine, 1954-1973), *Hvedekorn* (literary magazine, 1920-), *Pist Protta* (art magazine, 1981-) and *Levende Billeder* (film magazine 1975-1997).
11. From 2014 to 2015, Marker was co-editor of the cultural critical online magazine *DOXA,* which aimed to "debate the priorities and viewpoints in the cultural field and hold those in power over culture responsible for their decisions. And we wish to challenge and develop the way in which cultural journalism is conducted in this country" (authors' translation, http://www.magasinetdoxa.dk/om. [Accessed 6 July, 2015]). *DOXA* closed in September 2015 due to the lack of a sustainable business model (http://journalisten.dk/kulturmagasinet-doxa-lukker. [Accessed 22 September, 2015]).
12. In 2016, Lasse Marker published the book *The Watchdog and the Art Lover* in collaboration with Søren Mikael Rasmussen in which they address the dual nature of cultural journalism.
13. Besides reviewing drama for the intellectual, left-leaning niche newspaper *Information,* Christensen is also a lecturer at University of Copenhagen and holds a degree in Drama.
14. Danish examples are the niche paper *Kristeligt Dagblad*, the special section "W" in the morning newspaper *Jyllands-Posten*, and *Politiken*'s special section 'Magasinet'. An especially prominent example is *Zetland*, which has since 2012 been quite successful in publishing *singles* – a newer journalistic genre characterised by its longer narrative form.

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3.

From Culture Wars to Combat Games

The differentiation and development of culture departments in Finland

Heikki Hellman, Maarit Jaakkola & Raimo Salokangas

Abstract

Based on earlier research mainly focusing on newspapers, the chapter identifies the major shifts in organisation, content and identity of the Finnish cultural journalism, in particular since the 1970s. With regard to organisation, the cultural newsroom experienced its peak of autonomy in the 1980s and 1990s, whereas since the early 2000s, arts journalists have increasingly been integrated into the managerial conduct of the news organisation. In terms of content, the culture pages went through a popularisation with culture being now defined in a less hierarchic and more inclusive manner than before. As to the journalists' identity, the traditional occupational professionalism requiring expertise has partly been replaced by organisational professionalism favouring flexibility and multi-skilling. All these gradual transformations of cultural journalism culminate in a fundamental shift that has been described as a transition from an aesthetic to a journalistic paradigm.

Keywords: autonomy, cultural journalism, Finland, history, professionalism, reviewing

It was around midnight on Wednesday, 16 August 1977, when an Associated Press newsflash managed to surprise the on-duty subeditor of *Helsingin Sanomat,* Finland's largest daily. Elvis Presley, the 42-year-old 'King of Rock and Roll', had passed away in Memphis, Tennessee. It was late and the deadline was near, so the subeditor decided that the news was not even worth breaking. However, a night-shift reporter decided on his own to plant a 26-line, one-column notice titled "Elvis Presley dies in hospital" on the foreign page of Thursday's paper. On Friday, a short two-column obituary with a one-column picture was published in the obituaries section. Finally, on Sunday, a three-quarter-page analysis, "Elvis Presley – the king – the myth – the liberator", was published in the *Helsingin Sanomat* features section.[1]

During the last few decades, the values and news values of cultural journalism in Finland have undergone a dramatic change. When David Bowie, a major cultural icon, died in January 2016, it elicited exhaustive coverage and analysis on the next day's culture pages of all legacy news media. This was not the case 40 years earlier. At that

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time, popular music did not necessarily make news, not to mention cultural news, since its legitimation as a field of art was still unfinished (Mattlar 2015). In contrast, today, popular culture has gained an increasing share of cultural coverage and is given exposure to attract readers' attention (Jaakkola 2015a).

This chapter examines the development of culture departments in Finland. First, we outline the principal traditions of research on cultural journalism in Finland. Second, we explain the main developments of cultural journalism. Third, we focus on the transformation of the organisational structures, content and professionalism of cultural journalism from the 1980s onwards. Finally, we address some recent public debates around culture departments, thus elaborating the changing position of professional cultural journalism.

We focus on newspapers because their culture sections have played a definitive role in the development of cultural journalism and in the research on cultural journalism (Hurri 1993; Jaakkola 2015b). The national public broadcaster is mostly ignored here due to lack of earlier research. Furthermore, we concentrate on culture pages, not journalism on culture in general (Jaakkola 2015b, Kristensen & From 2011). Accordingly, we define 'culture' empirically, i.e. we follow the way in which the coverage of Finnish culture sections has evolved. As shown by Hurri (1983, 1993), newspapers tend to understand 'culture' in a restricted, aesthetically and institutionally oriented sense, featuring the various artistic disciplines and cultural institutions. Expansion towards lifestyle issues is a recent tendency (Jaakkola 2015b).

Although the review of books, theatre plays, concerts and the like flourished as early as the second half of the 19th century and newspapers were active participants in various societal debates and culture wars, culture departments in Finland were not generally organised until the 1950s and 1960s (Hurri 1993, Keränen 1984, Salminen 1988). With regard to organisation, we identify three phases in the development of cultural journalism: (1) differentiation commencing in the 1950s, (2) autonomisation starting in the 1960s and (3) integration into managerial control since the early 2000s (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Jaakkola et al. 2015).

In terms of content, we also pinpoint three phases of development: (1) 'elitisation' characterising the cultural journalism of the 1950s and the 1960s, (2) popularisation gaining ground gradually from the late 1960s and (3) increasing 'newsification' and standardisation of coverage since the early 2000s (Hurri 1983, 1993; Jaakkola 2015a, 2015b). As to the journalists' identity, we refer to the distinction presented by Evetts (2006): In the first phase, the institutionalisation of cultural journalism developed the expertise and autonomy of journalists, i.e. their 'occupational professionalism', whereas since the early 2000s, 'organisational professionalism' has dominated, compromising the earlier autonomy of cultural journalists (Jaakkola 2015b, Jaakkola et al. 2015).

Earlier research on cultural journalism

Cultural journalism is situated along a borderline that runs between the humanities and the social sciences. This has resulted in its treatment either as a function of arts and cultural mediation, with an emphasis on criticism and the aesthetic substance, or from the aspect of reporting on the condition of mainstream journalism. These two dimensions have seldom been integrated. This is also true in the case of Finland, where there are clearly two traditions in investigating cultural journalism.

One tradition draws from the research and history of journalism. Quantitative longitudinal analyses of cultural coverage and its distribution across the various fields of art have been conducted by Hurri (1983, 1993) and Jaakkola (2013, 2015a). In her seminal enquiries, Hurri (1983, 1993) conducted a content analysis of the culture pages of five Helsinki-based national newspapers, including the organs of both parties (*Uusi Suomi*, *Suomen Sosialidemokraatti*, *Maakansa*/*Suomenmaa* and *Vapaa Sana*/*Kansan Uutiset*) and the leading independent daily (*Helsingin Sanomat*), between 1945 and 1985. Later, Jaakkola (2013, 2015a) conducted a similar analysis of one national and four regional newspapers (*Helsingin Sanomat*, *Aamulehti*, *Turun Sanomat*, *Savon Sanomat* and *Kaleva*) covering the years 1978-2008.

Interestingly, in general newspaper histories (e.g., Keränen 1984, Mervola 1995, SLH 5 1988, SLH 7 1988, Tommila & Salokangas 2000) or histories of individual newspapers (e.g., Hokkanen 2006, Kilpi 2007, Manninen & Salokangas 2009, Pietilä 2011, Salokangas 2003, Suistola 1999), cultural coverage has seldom gained attention, although criticism and debate were major functions of early newspapers and culture pages later fundamentally profiled readership of the newspapers (Hurri 1993).

While the first tradition approached cultural journalism as an entity and analysed the distribution of coverage as illustrating the journalistic choices of the newspapers, the second tradition represents a sector-based analysis of arts and focuses on the intermediary and legitimating role of criticism in the artistic field in question. Scholars have described, analysed and discussed the development of, for example, literary criticism (Huotari et al. 1980, Korhonen 2012, Soikkeli 2007, Sucksdorff 2005), theatre criticism (Linkala 2014, Niemi 1984, Westman 2016), music criticism (Sarjala 1990, 1994; Välimäki 2012), film criticism (Lainto 2012, Pantti 2002) and TV criticism (Hellman 2009), considering newspaper reviews intrinsic to the genre of criticism.

Reviewers have also been investigated. Jokinen (1988) conducted a survey among the members of the Finnish Critics' Association (SARV) and revealed that three quarters of the reviewers had a university degree and almost two thirds were men. While only one out of five wrote criticism full time, the reviewers tended to have close ties with the fields of art they covered, as observed in other studies too (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen 2007, Kristensen & From 2011).

This chapter is indebted to both of these traditions, i.e. journalism research and aesthetically oriented research. We draw heavily on empirical studies on the historical development of culture pages in Finland while making use of the general history writing

of Finnish newspapers as well as individual newspaper histories that provide interesting, sometimes incidental, information about the formation and focus of cultural coverage in regional dailies. In addition to journalism research, we refer to evidence drawn from arts and criticism-oriented research. Some MA-level theses are also utilised, since they often make excursions into fields neglected by established research.

Development of Finnish cultural journalism

Cultural issues have been part of Finnish journalism for as long as there have been newspapers, but the rise of language-based nationalism in the latter half of the 19th century made the advancement of 'Finnish' culture a core area in political and social mobilisation. The notion of 'national' culture in the nation's own language(s) was central to the nation-building process. Cultural issues were perhaps most significantly present as a group of young liberal or even radical intellectuals established the newspaper *Päivälehti* in 1889, the predecessor of *Helsingin Sanomat* (Tommila & Salokangas 2000). As an indication of the importance of culture, a regular vignette for 'Literature and Art' was introduced by *Uusi Suometar*, the leading conservative daily, in 1886. *Päivälehti* introduced a similar vignette in 1891, and *Työmies*, the organ of the Social Democratic Party, followed suit in 1904 (Hurri 1983).

Institutionalisation of culture sections

From the late 19th century to the 1980s, the press system in Finland was political and leaned heavily on regional dailies. The political parties usually had their 'main organ' in Helsinki, with thin national coverage, complemented by a network of regional papers. This resulted in parallel political markets, a high external pluralism of the press and a high newspaper circulation, typical of the Nordic media model (Hallin & Mancini 2004). As it was important for the parties to cover the entire nation to mobilise their supporters to the polls, the papers were usually published by local companies owned by supporters of the party in the region. Consequently, local and regional issues, including cultural events, were comprehensively covered, representing the early forms of cultural journalism. Naturally, the capital-based dailies had the widest cultural offerings (Tommila & Salokangas 2000).

By the millennium, all the leading regional dailies gave up their party political status. The most notable earlier cases are three organs of the liberal Progressive Party that declared themselves independent: *Helsingin Sanomat* in 1943 (Manninen & Salokangas 2009), *Kaleva* in Oulu in 1951 (SLH 5 1988) and *Turun Sanomat* in Turku in 1961 (SLH 7 1988). Because becoming independent forced the newspapers to address a wider readership than before, cultural coverage also became broader.

It is perhaps the slow disconnection of its party political bonds that explains the considerably late differentiation and institutionalisation of cultural journalism in the

Finnish press. Another structural explanation is the small population in the regions, which was insufficient to maintain all-round cultural offerings, in spite of the fact that even small towns often supported theatres and orchestras. As broadening their content became necessary, the newspapers hired more journalists and developed new ways of organising their work. There were individual reporters assigned to cultural issues as early as the 1920s (Keränen 1984, Tommila & Salokangas 2000). However, according to Keränen (1984), it was not until the 1950s that the differentiation of newsrooms gained ground, and it was not until the 1960s that full-time cultural journalists were increasingly hired.

Reviews were published in regional papers as well, but in the capital-based dailies, they represented the most prominent form of cultural journalism. Until the 1950s, critics were not journalists but typically artists themselves too. According to Hurri (1993), this created a culture of 'insider' criticism, which stood out because reviews were not necessarily signed or used only pseudonyms. Hurri (1983) estimated that in 1950, one third of the reviews were not properly signed; even in 1960, the corresponding proportion was one fifth. This artists-as-reviewers convention disappeared in the 1980s. Today, it is still sometimes applied but only if the importance of a new work calls for special high-profile attention.

As long as the newspapers promoted party politics in their editorial pages, even their approach to culture tended to have a political flavour. In her thorough study on the culture departments in five Helsinki newspapers, Hurri (1993) characterised the period 1945-1959 as a transition from a political conflict to a conflict of generations, while the 1960s were dominated by the latter. In the 1970s, politics re-emerged in the form of a battle between the far left and the rest. Hurri showed consistently that the position of the newspapers' culture pages on the conservative-liberal or right-left axis did not necessarily follow the position of the parties in general politics or the official line of the party in question. Two showpieces were *Kansan Uutiset,* the main organ of the Democratic League of the People of Finland (communists and their socialist allies) in the late 1960s, and the conservative *Uusi Suomi* in the same period. In both cases, the culture pages aimed to be more radical than the parties that the papers supported, and a backlash followed (Hurri 1993). The tendency to break with the ideological orientation of the paper demonstrated the shift of cultural journalism towards increasing autonomy and occupational professionalism, which characterised its development until the 1990s.

It is notable that *Helsingin Sanomat*, despite being the leading national newspaper, established a culture department only in 1965. The culture department was part of a major development project, focusing strongly on newspaper design, launched by the new leadership (Manninen & Salokangas 2009, Tarkka 1994). The autonomy of the culture section was accentuated by the fact that it was not subordinated under the news division but had an editor in chief of its own (Blåfield 2014). *Helsingin Sanomat* was among the first newspapers to develop an ambitious design for its culture pages, particularly on Sundays (Mervola 1995).

Entrance of popular culture

As to the contents, Hurri (1983, 1993) demonstrated that between 1945 and 1985, four classical fields of art – music, theatre, literature and visual arts – accounted for two thirds of all coverage of the culture pages of the Helsinki-based newspapers. As 59 per cent of the articles represented the news genre and 27 per cent were reviews, the newsification of culture pages is not a new phenomenon. From the mid-1940s until the mid-1980s, the cultural provision remained relatively static, and the cultural concept among newspapers was considerably homogenous, i.e. elitist, aesthetically oriented and focusing on professionally produced culture and arts. Nevertheless, towards the end of Hurri's research period, the share of reviews and opinion articles appeared to be increasing at the expense of news genres while popular culture was receiving growing attention. This shift reflects the gradual start of the popularisation of culture pages, a development observed in other Nordic countries as well (Kristensen 2010, Larsen 2008).

The way popular music became stepwise legitimate in *Helsingin Sanomat* provides a good example of how topics that are eventually accepted as 'culture' find their way into different sections of a newspaper. According to Mattlar (2015), the first jazz column appeared in the paper in 1950. It was placed in the 'From Day to Day' section, which also included the weather, anniversary interviews and entertainment news on foreign celebrities. 'Proper' culture was covered under the 'Literature and Art' vignette, but as early as 1951, some of the jazz columns were already placed there. In 1954, *Helsingin Sanomat* established a youth section in its Saturday issue, including a regular jazz column by two young men. A more seasoned jazz musician kept writing for the 'From Day to Day' section, which was also the site for pop music articles in the 1960s. The founding of a separate culture section in 1965 with a chief of its own, Marja Niiniluoto, eventually clarified the positioning of stories. Jazz had already become 'culture', and from the mid-1960s, eminent figures within 'serious' music could write analytical reviews on the Beatles and Bob Dylan.

Spectrum of voices

Helsingin Sanomat was the paper that the regional papers kept an eye on. For instance, when the medium-sized daily *Vaasa* founded a culture section in 1974, the journalist appointed was instructed to "make the section look the way it looks in Finnish regional dailies". Thus, she started to apply the model of *Helsingin Sanomat* and the big regional daily *Aamulehti* in the context of a smaller paper. (Salokangas 2003: 37.) However, innovations in cultural journalism were not a monopoly of *Helsingin Sanomat*. In the 1960s, its number one position was challenged by *Uusi Suomi*, a conservative daily, which reshaped its culture pages by hiring young journalists (Hurri 1993). In the late 1980s, during its last years of existence, *Uusi Suomi* developed an ambitious culture page concept by launching an eight-page Saturday section with a creative design and high-profile contents addressing a young urban readership.

Sometimes a regional player can also have a strong presence in the cultural field. In particular, *Aamulehti*, published in Tampere, has presented a proactive approach to culture since the 1980s by emphasising journalistic values and the importance of cultural news. One of its sweetest triumphs was in 1984, when the Finlandia Prize, the national book award, was granted for the first time. On the morning of the prize giving, when the Helsinki-based media finally learned the name of the winner, essayist Erno Paasilinna, and placed a call to him, his telephone was answered by Erkka Lehtola, the culture editor of *Aamulehti*. He was already at the writer's home in Hämeenlinna, preparing to travel with him to the ceremony in Helsinki (Pietilä 2011).

Also, the Swedish-speaking press in Finland is traditionally known for its cultural emphasis, which is explained by the minority language position and the need to create a linguistically differentiated public sphere. For example, *Hufvudstadsbladet*, the leading paper published in Helsinki, had in 1970 a culture section of six staff writers and dozens of contributors (Rotkirch 1971). In 2004, most of the Swedish-speaking newspapers, some of them showing a circulation of less than 10,000 copies, still had at least one journalist specialising in culture and publishing routinely reviews too (Sucksdorff 2005).

Unlike in Sweden, afternoon tabloids have never played a strong role in Finnish cultural journalism. The most lasting imprint was perhaps left by Matti Rinne, the culture editor of *Ilta-Sanomat* from 1968-1998. During his time, *Ilta-Sanomat* routinely reviewed books, theatre premieres, gallery exhibitions, concerts and so on, yet was more selective and brief than its sister daily *Helsingin Sanomat* (Kilpi 2007). During the early 2000s, reviews disappeared from the pages of *Ilta-Sanomat*, and culture was integrated into the entertainment section of the paper. An increasing share of its cultural coverage dealt with television, a trend accelerated by the popularity of drama series and, later, reality programming (Herkman 2005).

Although our focus is on newspapers, a few words must be said about cultural journalism in radio and television. The original ethos of radio, operated by Yleisradio (YLE), Finland's public service broadcaster, was educational, and airtime for popular culture was limited; the radio carried the voice of "a cultured middle class" (Lyytinen 1996, Salokangas 1996). When YLE launched its regular television transmissions in 1958, it settled on cooperating with a private commercial company, Mainos-TV (later MTV). Until 1993, the two companies operated on shared channels, a peculiar hybrid arrangement not spotted in other Nordic or European countries (Hellman 1999; Salokangas 1996, 2014). In the division of labour between the two companies, it was YLE's duty to provide culturally oriented debates and magazines, literature programmes and the like. However, news journalism on cultural issues was institutionalised in radio and television even later than in newspapers. It was not until 1983 that the first culture reporter was hired to work in the YLE newsroom, and cultural coverage in newscasts remained sporadic until the late 1990s (Honkavaara 2001).

"Arts exceptionalism"

During the formative years from the 1950s to 1980s, a culture of 'arts exceptionalism' (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen 2007) among cultural journalists was developed in Finland, resonating with their 'occupational professionalisation' (Evetts 2006) in three respects. First, they represented specialist expertise that was directed towards the field of arts, which was highly valued in society. Second, the specialisation was well supported by the organisational structure of the media, which gave culture departments autonomy and liberties. Third, cultural journalists differed professionally from the rest of the newsroom, since a significant share of culture reporters were freelancers who were only occasionally involved in journalistic production. They were artists, art professionals, academics, enthusiasts or connoisseurs in a certain artistic or cultural field.

Cultural journalism in the mainstream media

Hellman (2010) and Herkman (2009) claimed that as the political public sphere in Finland has been mediatised and commercialised, the Nordic media model has also been increasingly challenged. A clear landmark was the deep recession of the early 1990s, leading to the growing importance of business ethos in media companies, with ideological and non-profit purposes becoming undermined. Newspaper companies started to buy each other, and some publishers also went into broadcasting, thus creating large consolidated corporations. In terms of circulation and economy, the Finnish press was at its strongest just before the recession of the 1990s, after which there's been a continuing downward trend (Grönlund & Björkroth 2011). As to broadcasting, the leading position of Yleisradio has been challenged by various private radio chains and free-to-air or subscription-based TV channels, owned by the few major commercial players.

The structural transformation of the media sector has been reflected in cultural journalism as well. Since the establishment of the differentiated organisational structures from the 1980s onwards, culture departments and newsrooms have encountered developments characterised by the consolidation of professional journalistic ideals and news production models. Changes can be seen at three levels: (1) in the published content, (2) in the organisation of work in the newsroom and (3) in the professionalism of cultural journalists. These aspects will be discussed in this section.

Contents of the culture pages

As stated above, the cultural canon that culture departments constructed through the selection and hierarchical valuation of topics focused traditionally on the high arts, such as literature, classical music, theatre and fine arts (Hurri 1993, Huotari et al. 1980). In Finland (Jaakkola 2015a, 2015b, Hurri 1993) and in other Nordic countries (Larsen

2008, Kristensen 2010), the established high cultural canon has been complemented with a popular cultural canon, and the concept of culture has become more inclusive over the past three decades (see also Janssen 1999, Janssen et al. 2011).

Jaakkola's (2013, 2015a) content analysis of the five biggest daily newspapers in Finland between 1978 and 2008 demonstrated that popular disciplines, i.e. popular music and film, gained significantly wider ground by the early 2000s. Illustratively, action/battle games such as *Max Payne* and *Alan Wake* now appear routinely on the review columns of *Helsingin Sanomat*, side by side with other artistic objects. However, also literature increased its share, whereas classical music and, to a lesser degree, theatre and fine arts lost ground. The overall reduced share of the four major classical arts means a diversification in the covered artistic disciplines. On the other hand, all major newspapers tend to emphasise that the coverage of Finnish literature, both fiction and nonfiction, is still high on their agenda. As an example, in 1994, *Helsingin Sanomat* founded a prize for first-time authors, accompanied by extensive coverage of the nominees (Jaakkola 2013b).

At the same time, the journalistic genre palette of the culture department became more diverse, with feature stories and interviews becoming more common. Reviewing became increasingly scant, although it was not replaced by but gave way to other genres. Between 1978 and 2008, of all the journalistic genres, reviews experienced the largest cut in length. Since the late 1990s, the reviewing function of the Finnish press has been increasingly outsourced (Jaakkola 2015a).

These changes have been intensified by the recent newspaper redesigns, which typically emphasise visual presentation, shorter texts and a clear hierarchy of elements created by variation of text length and the use of tie-ins, fact files and similar concise formats (Pulkkinen 2008). This has also affected the presentation and content production modes of cultural journalism. Consequently, Finnish culture sections from 1978 to 2008 increased their use of images. The use of tie-ins, fact files and listings also became more common (Jaakkola 2015a). All of these redesigns have not been enforced without collateral damages: Gustaf Widén, the then culture editor of *Hufvudstadsbladet*, resigned in 2000 since he felt he was overridden in the layout reform of the paper (Widén 2000).

The latest reason for redesigns is the gradual shift of newspapers to tabloid format, a trend that started in the 1980s in secondary regional newspapers and spread across major dailies in the 2000s. Although this has caused fears of 'tabloidisation' of content (Esser 1999), research findings on the immediate effects are reassuring albeit contradictory. For example, in a study comparing the culture pages before and after the tabloid reform in *Helsingin Sanomat* and *Satakunnan Kansa*, Reunanen (2013) found that the switch to tabloid format of *Satakunnan Kansa*, a regional daily published in Pori, expanded its cultural coverage by two thirds by introducing significantly more interviews and feature stories while decreasing reviews. In *Helsingin Sanomat*, the share and space devoted to reviews remained stable, and the overall changes were less dramatic.

This suggests that a tabloid reform may lead to a significant reconceptualisation of culture pages and introduce new journalistic approaches that address a new kind of readership (see also Mervola 1995, Pulkkinen 2008). On the other hand, what the tabloid format has institutionalised is a module-based and extremely formatted design of the papers, which directs the contents and methods of all journalists. The articles, whether pieces of news, feature stories or reviews, are written to fill certain 'gaps' in the page template. However, as a recent study on cultural journalists of *Aamulehti* shows, reporters themselves appear to see the changes affirmatively and emphasise the opportunity to write longer articles than before as a favourable consequence of the transition to tabloid (Ohtamaa 2016).

Organisation of the cultural coverage

The production of journalism on culture has been characterised by a sharp division between arts and popular culture, i.e. between a high-culture-based exclusive concept of culture and a more inclusive concept of culture with a focus on entertainment. Traditionally, culture departments have concentrated on the definition and evaluation of arts, while contents concerning popular culture and culture in an anthropological sense (food culture, travelling culture, street culture, etc.) have been produced by entertainment journalists or journalists with a more general work description, e.g. news journalists, local journalists and correspondents. Furthermore, there have been internal divisions in the culture departments based on the separation of arts and entertainment journalists. For example, when the Finnish Press Agency (STT) established a department for cultural news in 2000, the posts of cultural and entertainment journalists were separated. In newspapers, it has also been a typical practice to separate specialists on traditional high cultural forms and popular cultural forms, such as classical and pop music (Jaakkola 2015b) or specialists (arts writers, reviewers, etc.) and generalists (all-round journalists, newsmakers, etc. (Harries & Wahl-Jorgensen 2007, Kristensen & From 2011).

In newspapers, the 1990s marked an active period for launching supplements in which the reporting on popular culture and lifestyle issues played a prominent role. This functional division allowed the culture departments to continue focusing on the core of arts while still expanding the journalistic supply for possible new audiences. For example, in 1995, *Helsingin Sanomat* launched a weekly supplement called *Nyt* (Now), which provided a rich repertoire of film, record, game and restaurant reviews, as well as various listings including weekly TV charts. At the same time, the film critics and TV reviewers who previously worked in the 'From Day to Day section' joined the culture department. Although the reviewers contributed to *Nyt*, this move also encouraged the culture pages to broaden their popular appeal (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012). It was not until the end of October 2015 that the weekly film reviews were moved to the culture pages.

Over the past decade, media organisations have progressively supported the tendency to merge the functions of arts and entertainment. For example, in 2007,

the Finnish Press Agency merged its cultural newsroom and general newsroom. Similarly, in 2010, *Kaleva*, the leading newspaper of Oulu region, merged its cultural newsroom with its features desk, interlinking a culture producer and three culture reporters. In organisational reforms, departmental boundaries have been lowered, allowing a stronger focus on news instead of differentiation between artistic disciplines and cultural forms. In 2012, *Helsingin Sanomat* cancelled its long tradition where the sections, including the culture section, had their own subeditors and imposed their own pages, substituting it for a centralised subeditor team and layout personnel. The regional newspaper *Aamulehti* introduced editor shifts based on rotation from one department to another in 2001, but restored the traditional organisation in 2012.

Another indication of the rationalisation of the work process appears in the sharing and recycling of articles, reviews and commentaries by major newspaper chains. Publishing the same book and TV reviews and entries by the same columnists is typical not only in corporations owning several regional newspapers, such as Alma Media (the owner of *Aamulehti* in Tampere, *Satakunnan Kansa* in Pori, *Kainuun Sanomat* in Kajaani and *Lapin Kansa* in Rovaniemi) or Keskisuomalainen (the owner of *Keskisuomalainen* in Jyväskylä and *Savon Sanomat* in Kuopio), but also in various alliances created across corporate and regional borders. Although this broadens the cultural coverage of smaller newspapers, it also narrows the diversity of opinion and content (Hirvonen 2011, Ohtamaa 2016).

Since the turn of the millennium, online platforms have come to play an important role in publishing content along with the printed articles. For example, *Helsingin Sanomat* introduced a weekly online shift for its staff writers in the culture department in 2009 (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012). *Aamulehti* started online video production in 2006 (Koski 2008), but the first video reviews were not published until 2014. Today, *Helsingin Sanomat* routinely provides video interviews and discussions with reviewers, authors and other artists. Online publishing now constitutes a heterogeneous space for public discussion about arts and culture, inviting cultural amateurs and independent bloggers to participate (Kammer 2015). However, these new bottom-up forms of cultural journalism, potentially challenging the traditional gatekeeping function of institutional cultural journalists, have not been thoroughly analysed in Finland (cf. Lainto 2012).

Identity of cultural journalists

Changes in content and organisational reforms reflect the general expansion of cultural boundaries or the expansion of the concept of culture that the cultural journalists follow (Kristensen & From 2012). In line with this transition towards more inclusive ways of defining culture, cultural journalism has developed from a distinctively specialist and autonomous area of production towards an organisational unit regulated by the managerial principles of news production (Jaakkola 2013). This has consequences on the identity of cultural journalists.

Unfortunately, how cultural journalists read their changing professional status has not been systematically analysed in Finland. Supinen (2003) interviewed a number of cultural editors and cultural reporters in six newspapers and observed a contradictory identity characterised by, first, contentment with their relative autonomy but, at the same time, low esteem in the newsroom and, second, awareness of their authority as opinion leaders in the field of culture and recognition of the need to incorporate in the journalistic values of the news organisation. Similar pattern was later found by Hellman and Jaakkola (2012) in their analysis on *Helsingin Sanomat* and by Ohtamaa (2016) who studied *Aamulehti*.

While the production of reviews in daily newspapers has been increasingly outsourced since the 1990s, the managing role of the editors and the core editorial staff has grown. The frame of news production is becoming increasingly prevalent in the cultural journalists' culture, since reviewing is also seen as producing news and alternative ways of reporting about arts are actively sought. Culture departments have thus become closer to other news-oriented departments and have lost their specialist autonomy, while cultural journalists feel their identity has become more similar to that of general journalists. This change has been interpreted as a paradigm shift from an aesthetic to a journalistic orientation (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Jaakkola 2015b).

The paradigm shift can be interpreted in the light of two historically successive forms of discourse on professionalism, as suggested by Evetts (2006): "occupational" and "organisational". Occupational professionalism, representing the earlier layer, involves "a discourse constructed within professional groups themselves", "collegial authority" and "the occupational control of the work" and is "operationalised and controlled by practitioners themselves" (Evetts 2006: 140). In contrast, organisational professionalism represents a "discourse of control used increasingly by managers in work organisations", incorporating "hierarchical structures of authority, the standardisation of work practices, accountability, target-setting and performance" (Evetts 2006: 140). We suggest that the two historical layers of professionalism resonate well with the transformation of professionalism in cultural journalism. Elements of the two forms of professionalism negotiate with one another, with the values of organisational professionalism increasingly dominating (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Jaakkola et al. 2015).

At the same time, some other structures of professionalism have remained underdeveloped in cultural journalism. With regard to education, the training of cultural journalists was considered an important concern after the World War II to ensure the uniformity of culture. Interestingly, training courses were assigned to a private trust, the Finnish Cultural Foundation (SKR), which organised training seminars and 'masterclasses' also in 1967 and 2013 (Jaakkola 2015, Westman 2016). At the same time, this specialised form of journalism has rarely found its way to the academic curricula of journalism schools, even though Finnish journalist students, similar to students in other Nordic countries, tend to name culture as one of their most preferred areas to work in (Hovden et al. 2009).

Cultural journalism under attack?

In recent decades, the 'crisis' of cultural journalism has become a prominent theme in the discourse addressing this specialised type of journalism, both internationally and in Finland (Jaakkola 2015b, 2015c; McDonnell & Tepper 2014). Cultural journalism has been under constant criticism, reflecting its contested professionalism. This section briefly discusses two separate but interrelated debates that questioned the autonomy and expertise of cultural journalism. The first debate took place in the early 1990s and critically highlighted the gatekeeping function of cultural journalism. The latter debate from the early 2000s focused on criticising the coverage of culture pages. Contradictions between cultural institutions and major newspapers and claims of domination by artists illustrate the earlier stage, whereas cultural institutions and artists are now increasingly blaming cultural journalism for running fewer, shorter and more superficial articles about arts and culture than they used to. Some debaters have also criticised culture pages for their elitism and for complying with the interests of the art world.

The monopoly of Helsingin Sanomat?

Typical of the Finnish media sphere, one newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*, largely dominates the cultural field. With its broad readership and national circulation of at most half a million copies (in a country with a population of 5 million), it has an exceptional power to define what is considered 'culture' or 'arts' in Finland. Accordingly, the paper has been widely criticised for its 'monopoly' position. Criticism increased when its main rival, *Uusi Suomi*, was closed down in 1991 and *Kansan Uutiset* and *Demari*, the organs of the Left Alliance and the Social Democratic Party, renounced their full-time culture editors. The *Helsingin Sanomat* culture section had superior editorial strength, the most acknowledged reviewers and the broadest arts coverage in Finland and was thus claimed to have too much power in the field of culture (Hurri 1993, Klemola 1981). In an enquiry conducted in 2007, respondents representing the art world, cultural institutions and policymakers named *Helsingin Sanomat* the main influential player in the art world, even preceding the Ministry of Education and Culture (Luukka 2007).

Highlighting the extraordinary position of the paper, criticism by the art world often fell upon individual critics and journalists. Shortly before it was closed down, *Uusi Suomi* organised a publicity campaign in which renowned artists, including the conductor Esa-Pekka Salonen and the soprano singer Karita Mattila, argued for the pluralism of reviewing. In a full-page advertisement defending the survival of *Uusi Suomi*, Salonen asked, "What if Seppo Heikinheimo were the only music critic with nationwide circulation?"[2] By doing so, Salonen indirectly criticised the leading music critic of *Helsingin Sanomat*, who was a controversial figure hated by many in the music circle.

Exactly one year earlier, 43 prominent persons representing the field of music had made an explicit appeal against Heikinheimo, claiming that the weight of his forum gave the critic an extraordinary voice and resulted in the misuse of the freedom of speech (Hurri 1993). It is worth mentioning that in none of the various addresses Heikinheimo's expertise was denied, as he had a PhD in musicology; rather, it was his quick judgements and sharp writing that made musicians furious. In his reply, Heikinheimo proclaimed his autonomy and right to be subjective, declining to accept orders from the artists. He refused to be a 'Trojan horse' of the music world in the newspaper; instead, he declared himself a representative of journalism in the field of music.

Interestingly, this was perhaps the last major public debate concerning the authority of criticism in Finland. As the circulation of the print press has steadily fallen since 2005 and as the traditional position of newspapers in the heart of the media sphere has become increasingly questioned, the claims of misuse of power have decreased. This suggests that the rise to power of the journalistic paradigm and the depositioning of the aesthetic paradigm (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Hurri 1993) has been accepted. At the same time, other kinds of concerns have become frequent, reflecting the increasing integration of cultural journalism into the 'media logic' of the news organisation and increased organisational pressures to emphasise newsworthiness and broad readership.

Crisis of cultural journalism?

As a result of the general shrinkage of newsrooms, the number of staff reporters and freelance job opportunities in cultural journalism have decreased. Various artists' organisations and SARV have expressed concern about how major newspaper houses, particularly Sanoma Corporation, the publisher of *Helsingin Sanomat*, and Alma Media, the publisher of *Aamulehti*, jeopardise the plurality of reviews by cancelling commissions from established freelance critics and favouring syndicated reviews. For example, in spring 2012, a review by Maila-Katriina Tuominen of the 150th anniversary exhibition of Helene Schjerfbeck, a famous Finnish expressionist artist, was published not only in *Aamulehti* (Tampere) but also in *Satakunnan Kansa* (Pori), *Lapin Kansa* (Rovaniemi) and *Pohjolan Sanomat* (Kemi). (Kastemaa 2013.)

What is more interesting, however, is the discussion about the outcomes of the newsification and organisational professionalisation of the culture section. For example, Tuva Korsström, the former culture editor of *Hufvudstadsbladet*, recently complained that the critical analysis of cultural journalism has surrendered to the dominance of the newspaper format and design. She argued that one of the major mistakes was to transplant cultural debate from the culture pages to the leading articles page (Korsström 2009). In a similar vein, Matti Apunen, the then editor in chief of *Aamulehti*, criticised cultural journalism for having lost its interest in social issues and changing into "a compliant department of the arts sector, providing it with a review service". Apunen yearned for societally aware and politically incorrect journalism that

would address major national and global issues instead of serving the interests of the art world only (Apunen 2009).

Perhaps romanticising the past, both statements recalled the previous decades when culture pages were a central forum of social and cultural debate. Indeed, compared with Sweden and Germany, for example, where an ongoing re-politicisation of cultural journalism has been detected (Reus & Harden 2005) or the political is claimed to be a core value for cultural journalists (Riegert et al. 2015), Finnish cultural journalism since the 1980s appears to be arts oriented and apolitical. Debate on general issues, not to mention global issues, does not generally find a home in the culture pages. This is partly because the role of academic scholars in culture pages has radically diminished (Jaakkola 2015b); *Helsingin Sanomat* is no longer a 'department' of the University of Helsinki as it could have been labelled in the early 1980s. It is possible that, in order to secure their job opportunities, freelance critics even avoid politically topical issues.

The claims by Korsström and Apunen resonate well with the 'crisis frames' detected in the international debate on cultural journalism. According to Jaakkola (2015c), five discursive frames can be identified: (1) elitisation, (2) popularisation, (3) commercialisation, (4) journalistification and (5) professional 'apathisation'. Korsström emphasised threats posed by popularisation, commercialisation and journalistification, whereas Apunen blamed cultural journalists for their artistic elitism and professional apathy. While Korsström seemed to favour traditional virtues of autonomous cultural journalism, Apunen called on cultural journalism to shape up and integrate into journalism proper.

The debates described above all illustrate the inevitable tension between the aesthetic and journalistic fields that continues to characterise cultural journalism (Hovden & Knapskog 2015). Despite major changes in the media sector, the agents in the field of cultural journalism orient themselves to both journalistic and artistic-aesthetic norms and values. Cultural journalists have two fields of reference that help them constitute their professional identity: the field of journalism and the field of arts and culture. As a subfield of journalism, cultural journalism in Finland thus essentially draws on the double standards of journalism and aesthetics, resulting in both collisions and continuous balancing between the two (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Jaakkola 2015b).

Conclusion

With regard to organisation, we identified three different phases in the development of cultural journalism. First, the field went through a process of differentiation from the 1950s to the early 1970s, during which culture departments were established and the first professional generation of cultural journalists were recruited. Second, from the late 1970s until the late 1990s, culture sections enjoyed perhaps the peak of their autonomy in relation to the newspaper organisation while maintaining firm bonds with the artistic fields. Finally, since the early 2000s, culture departments have increas-

ingly been integrated into the managerial conduct of the news organisation, in which the editorial control and hierarchy between editors, staff writers and freelancers have become critical.

In terms of content, the first phase in the development of culture pages can be called elitisation, which characterised the 1950s and 1960s. The culture section addressed a cultivated readership sharing the cultural values of the art world and served as a forum of cultural debate, which, reflecting a generational conflict, often found more radical tones than the papers otherwise tolerated. The second phase, popularisation of the culture pages, started in the 1960s, with popular culture taking root little by little. However, it was not until the early 2000s that the definitive legitimation of popular culture materialised in the increasing coverage of popular arts. There are signs of a third phase, partly overlapping with the popularisation of culture pages: an increasingly inclusive concept of culture. By inclusiveness, we refer to the partial breakage of the earlier symbiotic connection between the high-cultural art world and cultural journalism, which has broadened the approach of cultural journalists to everyday issues, highlighting the entertainment and service functions of journalism and appealing to a general public.

As to the journalists' identity, the early developments institutionalised the specialised group of cultural journalists, who went through a process of occupational professionalisation by the 1990s. During these phases, expert knowledge and bonds with the artistic field were highly appreciated and served as cornerstones of the professional identity of cultural journalists. Since the early 2000s, the aesthetic consciousness has weakened due to the transfer to the next generation and the increased managerial expectations concerning the approach and content, illustrating the growing organisational professionalism of cultural journalism.

All these gradual transformations of cultural journalism culminate in a fundamental shift that has been described as a transition from an aesthetic to a journalistic paradigm. As Jaakkola (2015b: 132-133) noted, the journalistification of the culture section may generate innovative cultural journalism but simultaneously distance the journalistic field from the artistic fields and create "a discourse on arts and culture that does not match that of cultural producers", thus intensifying the fundamental tensions between the two fields – a trend that is observed also in other countries (e.g. Hovden & Knapskog 2015). Moreover, the fact that reviewing is increasingly outsourced encourages polarisation between the fields, as the in-house cultural journalists increasingly represent the journalistic values of the newsroom while the aesthetic values of the art world remain the domain of the freelance critics. Hence, hidden value conflicts may reappear and cause new tensions in Finnish cultural journalism.

Notes

1. The *Helsingin Sanomat* coverage of the death of Elvis is described in Mattila 2014.
2. The full-page advertisement was published in *Uusi Suomi*, 1 September, 1991.

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4.

Cultural Rebels, Popular Journalism and Niche Journalism in Norway

Jan Fredrik Hovden, Leif Ove Larsen & Silje Nygaard

Abstract

This chapter gives an overview of the characteristics and developments of cultural journalism in Norway since the late 19th century, by focusing on the influential national newspapers *Dagbladet* and *Verdens Gang*, and the public service broadcaster NRK. The chapter addresses the changing role of cultural journalism in a cultural public sphere undergoing substantial changes. We argue that cultural journalism has not only been about aesthetics but very much interwoven with political and cultural issues in society. From the 1960s popular culture was given increased attention and space, and the fine arts lost its dominance in relative terms. We also discuss the history of academic study of cultural journalism in Norway, as well as point out how the typical cultural journalist has changed over time, from the professional scholar to the professional journalist, from the expert of arts to the journalist who is foremost a specialist on the medium he/she works in.

Keywords: cultural intermediation, cultural journalism, cultural public sphere, Norwegian Broadcasting Company/NRK, press history

Cultural journalism has been a part of Norwegian journalism since the rise of the modern newspaper in the mid-19th century. However, there is a major difference in content, style and genres between what we today would classify as cultural journalism in the media and the cultural debates and harsh conflicts on aesthetics values in literature and theatre among the leading poets and editors more than 150 years ago. Furthermore, the media ecology constituting the public sphere is significantly different between the two periods. From a small number of newspapers read by a limited elite of bourgeois society in the late 19th century, cultural journalism of the latter half of the 20th century addresses a mass audience in print, radio and television. While the mass media era hallmarked by one national broadcaster – *the Norwegian Broadcasting Company* (NRK) – to some extent constituted a national cultural public sphere, the contemporary situation of online media and abundance of choices represents a more fragmented cultural sphere, where various audiences and subcultures can, at least potentially, relate to particular cultural preferences and tastes.

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On the production side we can observe significant changes in the practitioners of cultural journalism since the late 19th century. While the 'cultural journalism' of the 19th century to a large extent was written by poets engaged in the cultural and political struggles of the time, the cultural journalism of today is to a large extent done by professional journalists sharing the norms and values of the journalistic profession. Still, what has been considered as the core of cultural journalism, the criticism of new products in the field of art, is a persistent genre where poets and artists contribute as critics as well as the more recent tendency of amateur criticism flourishing in the online media environment.

These introductory remarks underscore the two main functions of the media in the field of culture: On one hand media serves as an *intermediary* between the field of culture and the public, promoting new products and events on the market of culture to the audience. This said, the media itself is also a cultural institution, and as such its members are not only intermediaries but also producers of culture in their own right. On the other hand media is an *arena of criticism.* The arena function serves as a public sphere for criticism, debate and conflict about cultural products, addressing issues of quality, aesthetic norms, ethics and value for society.

In this chapter we will describe some tendencies and developments of cultural journalism in major Norwegian national media institutions such as the NRK and the two leading national newspapers, *Dagbladet* and *Verdens Gang* (VG), emphasising the national cultural public sphere post World War II. While *Dagbladet* has been selected for being the most important and infamous media outlet with respect to cultural journalism and debates, *VG* has been chosen for its role in popularising journalism and journalistic coverage of popular culture. We conclude by reflecting on some current tendencies and changes in the cultural public sphere as constituted by the established news media. However, we will start out by addressing cultural journalism as an area of research in Norway.

Research and literature on cultural journalism

Academic studies on cultural journalism in Norway are in a broader sense a widespread phenomenon with a long tradition. The work and lives of cultural journalists have been studied in detail as part of many historical studies of the press and broadcasting (e.g. Dahl 1993, 1999b; Eide 1998, 2000; Hjeltnes 2010, Klausen 1986). Similarly, much has been written on cultural criticism and cultural debates in the humanities dedicated to the art forms covered by journalism, not least in the field of literature studies (e.g. Linneberg 1992, Furuseth, Thon & Vassenden 2016). In the former tradition, the focus on longer historical lines and single publications or channels, however, means that cultural journalism has seldom been at the forefront of the analysis. In the latter tradition, the research interest has to a large extent been restricted to studies of art critics and the genre of art criticism, paying little attention to other genres of cultural

journalism. The recent contribution to the history of literary criticism in Norway, 1870-2010 (Furuseth, Thon & Vassenden 2016), includes various genres and media such as newspapers, radio, television and social media, and thus it is an attempt to transcend the divide between the two approaches.

There are many examples of interest in cultural journalism from a press perspective and as a theme in cultural debates between artists, journalists and critics in the whole post-World War II period (Ustvedt 1978). Notable here is the critique of the increasing cultural coverage of popular culture in newspapers and magazines following the advent of television (for a historical overview, see Bech-Karlsen 1991, Fidjestøl 2015). As a subject for dedicated research focused on the broader practices of cultural journalists in Norway, however, there are few examples of academic work before the 1990s, with increased attention particularly from the mid-2000s.

The rise of academic interest in the subject in the 1990s appears as a result of several converging trends. In literature studies, there was, starting in the 1970s, a rising interest in popular and contemporary culture (e.g. Dahl 1974, 1976). This interest was taken further with the advent of Norwegian media studies in the 80s, culminating with the establishment of departments of media studies at the major universities (Bergen 1986, Oslo 1987). Here, scholars from the humanities, applying aesthetic and social theory on popular and mass cultural phenomena which had until then been little studied (e.g. Gripsrud 1981, 1990, 1992),[1] teamed up with social scientists interested in mass communication (e.g. Høyer 1964, 1971; Østbye 1977, 1984). Finally, the gradual expansion of the schools of vocational journalism, in particular from the 80s, and their increasing academisation in the 90s (Fonn 2015) contributed to an increasing number of scholars researching journalism.

A decisive book for the scholarly interest in cultural journalism was *Kulturjournalistikk – tilkobling eller avkobling* [Cultural Journalism: Engagement or Disengagement] (Bech-Karlsen 1991). Merging a cultural journalist's and media researcher's perspective – and combining interviews with cultural journalists, analyses of cultural journalism and a rich historical review – the book discussed the craft of cultural journalism and gave a condensed historical account of the development of cultural journalism in Norway. In the book Bech-Karlsen argued that a gradual decline of cultural journalism had taken place since the 60s, where ideals of enlightenment had been "displaced by ideals of entertainment". Cultural journalism, he argued, was preoccupied with popular culture at the expense of the arts and had turned towards "consumption and amusement" rather than critical reflection. Although part of a larger debate on the state and craft of cultural journalism in Norway at the time (e.g. Berentzen 1991, Carling 1991, Opstad 1991), the book became a central point of reference.

The period from the late 80s to the early 2000s was also marked by the publication of several major historical works where cultural journalism was dealt with. In the histories of NRK (Dahl 1991, 1999a, 1999b) and the two national tabloids *Dagbladet* and *VG* (Dahl 1993, Eide 1995a, Klausen 1986), cultural journalists occupied important roles, and processes of popularisation were a central concern (see in particular Eide

1995b, 1998). This period also saw an emerging interest in the historical development of journalistic genres, including the critique (Roksvold 1994, 1997), which has later been followed in dedicated studies of the conventions and functions of the commentary genre (Igland & Stølås 2008; Mathisen, Sneve & Morlandstø 2016).

The following decade saw a large interest in how the contemporary press covered culture in Norway. Many of the studies were written from the perspective of a specific art form, including film (Gjelsvik 2002, 2004), popular music (Gripsrud 2002, Maasø 2002, Weisethaunet 2004) and literature (Linneberg 1992, Andreassen 2000). A large number of student theses have also been written since the 2000s on the media coverage of culture forms ranging from contemporary art to death metal.[2] Furthermore, broad systematic studies of cultural journalism in the press discussed earlier by Lund (2000, 2005) and Larsen (2004, 2008) documented more general historical trends and important differences between newspapers.

Aside from the books by Bech-Karlsen and Lund, however, there were very few dedicated works on cultural journalism until the anthology *Kulturjournalistikk. Pressen og den kulturelle offentligheten* [Cultural Journalism: The Press and the Cultural Public Sphere] by Larsen and Knapskog (2008). Collecting empirical studies by researchers from a variety of fields in the social sciences and the humanities using different methods – including historical studies of newspapers and magazines, content analysis and statistical surveys of journalists – it provided a broad historical and contemporary overview of cultural journalism in Norway. The book framed the case studies in a distinctly Habermasian approach, seeing a well-functioning cultural journalism as a pivotal part of a healthy public sphere in a democracy (similar perspectives on cultural journalism had been suggested earlier, e.g. in Gripsrud 1990, 2008; Knapskog & Larsen 2004). Importantly, the book also offered explicit critique of the strong strain of pessimism in earlier debates on the state and development of cultural journalism, which is still very much part of the ongoing debate (e.g. Åmås 2006, Olsen 2014).

Recently there have been several studies of cultural journalism in the digital environment (Larsen 2009; Larsen, Knapskog & Iversen 2016; Lavik 2008, Refseth 2015). Key questions entail the change of cultural journalism emigrating from paper to an online environment in terms of genres and art forms but also address the rise of amateur criticism and the changing status of professional criticism. We will return to these studies in the final part of the article.

The transformation of cultural journalism

When discussing cultural journalism in the later decades, two historical narratives have been central in Norway (Larsen 2009). The first is one of an increasing neglect of the traditional forms of art. Journalism on the traditional fine arts – theatre, visual arts, classical music and literature – are replaced by journalism on film, television and popular music. One element of this narrative is that the distinction between 'serious

art' and entertainment, high and low culture, is being increasingly blurred, so it is impossible for the interested citizen to see the difference between important and unimportant art. The second narrative is one emphasising the forms and elements of new cultural journalism, criticising it for tabloidisation, becoming more personalised, more sensational. Cultural journalism, in this critique, has become more interested in the artist's appearance, private life and conduct than in the work of art itself. And journalism has become more sensational in its content, framing and headlines. Examples of such critique can be found in most of the post-war period, voiced by researchers, cultural journalists and the artists themselves (e.g. Bech-Karlsen 1991, Ustvedt 1978, Åmås 2006).

These stories of a fall from grace for cultural journalism are not without some truth – cultural journalism undoubtedly changed significantly after World War II – but are also problematical. They rest on the idea of a mythical past, a golden age of cultural journalism dominated by cultural giants who wrote serious literature and were also brilliant journalists and debaters. A line can here be drawn from the 'poetocracy' of the late 1800s, comprising authors like Johan Wergeland, Sebastian Welhaven, Olav A. Vinje, Johan Garborg etc. via the interwar years and poets/journalists like Axel Kielland and Johan Borgen to the 60s, where Jens Bjørneboe was a prominent figure. Picking up a Norwegian newspaper in the mid-60s, however, would give the modern reader searching for cultural journalism a mixed impression. The amount of cultural coverage was overall low, the number of genres limited, and popular culture – aside from film – was seldom the subject of review or serious journalistic treatment. One would find long pieces of knowledgeable criticism and commentary and perceptive portraits of artists but also blatant PR for upcoming events. Something appears to have changed – but what – and when?

Studying 2,458 items of cultural journalism in seven Norwegian newspapers for the years 1964, 1984 and 2005, Larsen (2008) identified a number of developments. Where cultural coverage in 1964 was characterised by some balance between popular and traditional cultural genres, this balance was later clearly eschewed in favour of popular music, television and film. However, as the overall number of pages and items which can be classified as cultural journalism also increased a great deal (almost four times in total volume, and from nine to 15 per cent of the relative volume of the papers in the period), the impression is one of expanding coverage of popular culture rather than a declining coverage of serious culture. Similar patterns are noted by Lund (2000) in a smaller study of the newspapers *Aftenposten* and *Dagbladet*. Overall, the changing press coverage of culture can be seen as the attempt of the press to mirror the changes in the Norwegian cultural field from the 60s forward. From the Scandinavian perspective, Norwegian newspapers do not appear to be very different from those in Sweden and Denmark (Lund 2005, Kristensen 2010, Kristensen & From 2011).

Also, the types of cultural journalism have changed. A study of seven newspapers (print) finds that news-related and journalistic forms of coverage of culture and reviews

in Norway increased in volume, where the pre-coverage of coming events was reduced in number of articles and volume between 1984 and 2005. Very likely, the increasing legitimation of popular culture, in particular through the introduction of television in the 1960s combined with the decline of the party press and strengthened ideals of independent journalism, made older forms of patriotic art coverage increasingly problematic (Larsen 2008).

Cultural journalism in Norwegian media

This part of the chapter emphasises the national media institutions of particular importance to the production and distribution of cultural journalism in Norway: NRK and the national newspapers *VG* in the post-World War II period and *Dagbladet* since the late 19th century. *Dagbladet*, with its profile of cultural radicalism, has historically been the leading cultural newspaper, serving as the arena for the most important cultural debates of its days. *VG*, on the other hand, has been the avant-garde of popular journalism in the post-World War II period, including its ground-breaking coverage of popular culture. As a broadcasting monopoly until the late 1980s, NRK became and still is the most important cultural and political institution in Norway (Syvertsen et al. 2014). In broadcasting NRK is supreme with respect to the production of cultural journalism. Although not discussed here, one should keep in mind that the largest regional newspapers (*Aftenposten*, *Stavanger Aftenblad*, *Adresseavisen* & *Bergens Tidende*) have also been important providers of cultural journalism, and this is also the case with several more niche-oriented, smaller newspapers such as *Morgenbladet* and *Klassekampen*, the latter of which has thrived in the field of cultural journalism as the major national newspapers face a crisis of circulation and the downsizing of the newsrooms.

Dagbladet – the cultural rebel

The Norwegian media is quite diversified and contains a wealth of privately owned newspapers operating in the market, but also receives direct and indirect state subsidies. Such state-subsidies help sustain diversity in the selection of newspapers.

Among these newspapers one finds the national newspaper *Dagbladet*. The paper was founded in Kristiania (current day Oslo) in 1869, and early on it developed radical traits in its cultural coverage (Flo 2010). *Dagbladet* has always been a distinctive cultural product (Dahl 1993). In the last decades of the 19th century *Dagbladet* was the arena of oppositional voices arguing for freedom of speech, freedom of religion and national independence (from Sweden). Founded on an oppositional political platform, it immediately became a forum for poets and artists critical of the political regime and hegemonic cultural and religious norms. In the 1870s the Danish literature scholar and philosopher Georg Brandes, a consistent critic of religious dogmas and

superstition, was strongly supported by and published in *Dagbladet*. When Brandes was more or less excluded from the Danish press in the latter part of the 1870s, *Dagbladet* published his articles (Sørensen 1993).

In the 1880s and 1890s *Dagbladet* took the radical side in several cultural controversies. When the Parliament denied the socially critical author Alexander Kielland honorary salary, *Dagbladet* took Kielland's side against what the newspaper characterised as reactionary forces in society. This view was formulated in reviews of Kielland's books as well as in editorials and commentaries. Similarly *Dagbladet* strongly defended 'the bohemian' Hans Jæger when his book *Fra Kristiania-Bohemen* [From the Kristiania Bohemian] was impounded for violating norms of decency. *Dagbladet* did not agree with the contents of the book but defended his right to publish and demanded a revision of the law on freedom of expression (Sørensen 1993).

Dagbladet became the newspaper of the poets. Leading authors on the political and cultural left, such as Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson, Arne Garborg, Alexander Kielland and Jonas Lie, wrote reviews, commentaries and reportages. There was a thin line between poetry and journalism, and for these authors cultural criticism was intimately connected to their political roles and ambitions. Bjørnson in particular, who was a leading intellectual in public life in Norway in the latter half of the century, used *Dagbladet* as his major outlet for artistic and political reasoning. For him writing literature, theatre and journalism were tools in the same toolkit: it was all about changing society for the better (Andersen 1993). Thus, *Dagbladet* became known as the newspaper of the poets, a tradition that continued for decades. Even though the era of the 'poetocracy' was particularly prominent in the last part of the 19th century, *Dagbladet* was the leading cultural newspaper in Norway for most of the 20th century.

In the intermediate period between the two World Wars, *Dagbladet* refined its profile as a modern popular paper with newsstand sales. The paper started to give more attention to crime, content for women and curiosa from abroad. It was in this period the much cited 'personality split' between an entertainment paper on one hand and a cultural paper on the other hand took place (Flo 2010).

In Sweden, some major newspapers established a separate page for culture as early as the 1920s. In Norway this development did not take place before the wake of World War II. *Dagbladet* started its cultural section in 1947-48, while other notable papers such as *Morgenbladet*, *Arbeiderbladet* and *Aftenposten* followed in the next decades. One important prerequisite for this development across the media market was the fact that the papers hired cultural editors. The introduction of cultural editors meant that the cultural departments of the newspapers were no longer subject to the political editors, which had been the case up until that point. While cultural content traditionally had been scattered around wherever the editors felt like placing it, the new cultural editors had a more thoughtful plan concerning the presentation and placement of such content. With the introduction of omnibus papers one could identify a tendency that cultural content was split into two different categories: 1) interpretative journalism and 2) news and reportage. While the interpretative journalism sustained

its emphasis on enlightening the public, the news and reportage content had traits of the new entertainment ideals (Bech-Karlsen 1991).

In the post-war era *Dagbladet* was involved in a series of so-called 'cultural battles'. In 1948 *Dagbladet* again played a key role when the Parliament debated honorary state salary for the author Sigurd Hoel. Another infamous battle was related to the Attorney General's confiscation of the novel *Sangen om den røde rubin* [The Song of the Red Ruby] by the author Agnar Mykle in 1957. The Attorney General found that the novel contained explicit, non-appropriate depictions of sexuality. *Dagbladet* took the principal stance, claiming that it was appropriate to utilise a section of the Criminal Code related to pornography to stop a novel which the paper considered a piece of art. But when the renowned author Jens Bjørneboe was charged with the same offence some 10 years later for his novel *Uten en tråd* [Without a Stitch], *Dagbladet* was found to be less concerned about the principle of the matter, largely due to the fact that the paper found the novel to be a pornographic book without artistic ambition. According to Sørensen (1993: 213) this inconsistency indicates a certain pattern in which *Dagbladet* was ascribed an elitist attitude. The paper has always been a fierce defender of freedom of expression but markedly has been prone to care more about elitist literature and less about popular literature.

The radical cultural profile of *Dagbladet* has furthermore been influenced by famous cultural personas. Among these one finds outstanding newspaper cartoonists such as Ragnvald Blix, Thoralf Kloumann, Gösta Hammarlund, Kjell Aukrust and Finn Graff. *Dagbladet* holds a central position in the Norwegian history of editorial cartoons (Helliesen 1993). Furthermore, *Dagbladet* hired prominent composers as music critics, such as Pauline Margrethe Hall (1934-1963), Arne Nordheim (1963-1970) and Finn Mortensen (1963-1973) (Dahl 1993). Until recently, *Dagbladet* remained the leading newspaper for debating literature, and several well-known authors, such as Sigurd Hoel, Helge Krog, Dag Solstad and Knut Robert Faldbakken, published regularly in the paper.

Dagbladet's self-image was, according to Hompland (1993: 519-520), to a certain extent characterised by intellectual arrogance with contempt for the bad taste of the masses. Furthermore, its self-image was also characterised by *Dagbladet's* tradition as a social and politically radical newspaper with roots in Oslo's radical cultural elite. However, *Dagbladet* welcomed the introduction of television in 1960, first and foremost as a cultural paper that facilitated the debate about television as a cultural phenomenon. Airtime schedules and critics were given their own columns and placement within the paper, and the critics of TV were integrated into the liberal profile of the paper. Furthermore, the paper prioritised debate posts about TV, and such priorities contributed to maintaining its function as a debate forum on the themes of culture (Bastiansen & Dahl 2008). In the 1950s and 1960s *Dagbladet* had an ambiguous relationship to popular culture and met strong competition from the newcomer in the newspaper market, *VG*, not only in coverage of new popular culture phenomena but also in terms of new forms of popular journalism. *Dagbladet* and *VG* were competitors in the same

market, but *Dagbladet's* self-image led to a reluctant and half-hearted competition. After being surpassed by *VG* in terms of circulation figures in 1979, *Dagbladet* changed to tabloid format in 1983 (Høyer 1993).

In recent years the paper has been ravaged by a significant decrease in sales due to the Internet and its market '*takeover*' in terms of advertising revenue, leading to a loss of income and the subsequent downsizing of its staff. These changes in its economic conditions have been viewed as the most compelling explanation as to why the paper seemingly has lost its distinct identity and nowadays is considered a schizophrenic newspaper running 'all over the place' in its efforts to obtain interest and income (Flo 2010). Furthermore, a content analysis conducted by Larsen (2008) shows an increasing neglect of the traditional forms of art such as theatre, classical music and visual arts in *Dagbladet* from 1964 to 2005, which were replaced by considerably more journalism on film, popular music and television. This transformation mainly took place between 1964 and 1984. Another content analysis (Lund 2000) found that cultural journalism about the performing arts was descending in the period from 1975/76 to 1998/99 in *Dagbladet,* while music was increasing in the same period. Furthermore, cultural journalism on literature clearly increased in the same period, becoming a highly prioritised cultural theme by 1998/99.

VG – popular journalism and popular culture

The modern version of the paper *VG*, was established by the resistance movement *Hjemmefronten* immediately after the end of World War II. The paper had a bourgeois profile but did not have ties to any particular bourgeois parties (Ottosen, Røssland & Østbye 2002).

According to Martin Eide (1995: 115) the paper was an intellectual result of a new time in which new thoughts, ideas and ways of handling issues came into play. *VG* was modern in the sense that hard news dominated. Although the paper gave cultural content a prominent position, the cultural content did not serve as the main tool to develop political and societal understanding.

The period before, during and after the change from morning to afternoon paper in 1952 was of crucial importance in the popularisation process of *VG*. The paper struggled in the market, and the board decided to initiate a popularisation process of the paper. However, there was a strong will to preserve some of what had traditionally been viewed as 'quality content' and in particular content on politics (Eide 1998). The wave of modernisation and popularisation that struck the paper also had an impact on its cultural content. One element in this process of popularisation was the graphic use of *the dice*. The dice was introduced in 1952 by *VG* journalist Arne Skouen as a way of giving points (from 1-6) to illustrate the paper's evaluation of cultural expressions, such as books, films and other expressions. The dice became an infamous institution in *VG* and has been a widely and consistently used feature in the paper's coverage of film critiques and later on also used to illustrate critiques on 'everything', ranging from

the performance of the prime minister to the quality of public transport in different cities (Eide 1998). According to Eide (Ibid.) the dice has become a symbol within the genre of popular journalism. The dice provides an easy visual expression of complex evaluations, which Eide considers to be an example of the fact that popularisation also – by necessity – entails simplifications.

In the transition from the 1950s to the 1960s, *VG* was in the midst of the process of becoming a paper that appealed to the modern citizen. At the same time, *VG* was in the early stages of a popularisation process in terms of a shift towards popular journalism in its content and style of presentation to increase its market share (Eide 1998). As part of this popularisation process the newspaper became a steady supplier of popular cultural content, and the stars of the movie and television screens were among the most marketable content. Furthermore, the papers "music record barometer", including *Ti på Topp,* or *Top Twenty* as it is called nowadays, was introduced in 1958 and is still a permanent fixture of the culture section. In its journalistic structuring, *VG* did not merely focus on emerging and expanding popular culture. In fact, the paper also contributed to constitute popular culture. This phenomenon is illustrated by the increase in culture and entertainment content across the whole market of afternoon papers. Due to the general increase of wealth and cultural consumption in society both the serious and the popular parts of the cultural sphere experienced a noticeable rise during the 1950s. Whilst the music genre *jazz* found itself in the middle of an unprecedented golden age, one could also identify significant activity within more established music circles, in the theatres, at the cinemas, within the visual arts and on the revue stages. The modern media of radio and television, in addition to the modern popular culture, became great resources that *VG* could use to develop its own product – namely a paper deeply and increasingly embedded within popular journalism that could supply the readers with their demand for such content (Eide 1998).

VG did, however, struggle with its sales in the 1950s. However, after entering the transition to tabloid format in 1963 and a change of ownership, the paper experienced a tremendous boost, and the 1960s marks the start of an adventure for the paper and its sales and circulation figures (Eide 1995, Flo 2010).

The 1960s and 1970s also mark one of the most significant changes in Norwegian cultural journalism – the increasing coverage of the field of popular culture – with *VG* as the frontrunner (Larsen 2008). *VG* became a trendsetter in the field of cultural journalism on popular culture.

The introduction of television in the1960s did, however, entail new challenges for the press. The papers had to adapt to meet and compete with this new competitor in the world of media. The chief editor of *VG* at the time, Christian A. R. Christensen, was able to identify that the relation between television and the paper press would be one of the most pivotal of the current challenges facing the paper at the time in terms of its editorial setup and methods. However, he did not find the new competitor, NRK, all that problematic. Instead, he stated that the TV channel could actually sharpen the eagerness of the general public to buy papers, because they would like to read in depth

about topics and themes presented on the television. And as a natural consequence of such view, the chief editor placed great emphasis on the importance of covering the events that unfolded on the television and on the radio. In addition, the papers began to write about the people on the television screen, which in turn led to the inclusion of the TV celebrity interview, covering the celebrity personalities and lifestyles at length. Celebrity interviews have since become a genre of massive attention and have been utilised as a tool to meet the competition of television (Bastiansen & Dahl 2008).

VG surpassed *Dagbladet's* circulation figures in 1972 and those of *Aftenposten* in 1981 and has since been Norway's largest paper in terms of circulation figures (Flo 2010). *VG*, however, even though it has had in-house art critics and literature reviewers, has never been a prominent cultural newspaper. Nevertheless, the paper has played an important role not only in the popularisation of Norwegian journalism but also in dealing with popular culture journalistically.

Recent developments in the newspapers

The transition from traditional cultural journalism in the printed newspaper to cultural journalism online, along with the popularisation process of its journalism in the 1970s, mark some of the most significant transformations of Norwegian cultural journalism. While the first phase of the online newspapers was characterised by a mere transfer from print to online, a second phase saw the establishment of designated online web newsrooms. In a latter phase, several newspapers have established so-called multi-media newsrooms, where journalists produce different variants of a news story for usage on the different platforms. This is done to exploit the particular advantages of the platform in the best way possible. Web scientists emphasise that the possibilities of the web, including its space, speed and commercial considerations, do not just matter for the shape of journalism but also for which topics get prioritised. (Larsen 2009).

As an example, Pål Binde (2005) finds in a comparative study of print and online versions of *VG*, *Aftenposten* and *Adresseavisen* that none of the papers prioritise cultural journalism on their online platforms. Furthermore, the online platforms tend to be more tabloid than the printed. Larsen (2009: 271-279) claims that while the newspapers have reviews and news from both the high and low cultural spheres, the online platforms tend to prioritise popular culture. Both *Dagbladet* and *VG* place less emphasis on the fine arts on their online platform than in the printed version of the newspaper. Thus, one can identify a tendency to marginalise traditional elite culture on the online platform at the expense of 'click'-generating content. According to Larsen (Ibid) it is not unreasonable to view this in relation to the new possibilities of the papers via the online platform's use of cookie-technology, which can be used to obtain knowledge about their readers and the themes the readers are attracted to. The shift towards popular culture and celebrities on the online platform can, as a consequence, create space for cultural journalism on the traditional forms of art in the printed version. Since the millennium, niche newspapers such as the previous

Marxist newspaper *Klassekampen* and the weekly *Morgenbladet* have increased their circulation, both having a distinct and strong cultural profile. The Norwegian media system also includes the NRK, which has been pivotal in producing high-quality cultural journalism on radio and television – and recently on the Internet. The following section will focus on cultural journalism in the NRK.

From public education to niche journalism: Public service broadcasting

Since the early beginnings of radio broadcasting, public service institutions have been obliged to provide comprehensive programming, enlighten the public and produce programmes crucial for the society as a whole rather than individual viewers. As such, no institutions have been subject to more comprehensive cultural policy obligations than the public service broadcasters (Syvertsen et al. 2014).

When the NRK was established in 1933, significant emphasis was placed on providing spiritual and cultural experiences for the public. The NRK should give the audiences 'the best' the world of art and culture can offer, from the fine arts to popular entertainment. From the beginning, both NRK Radio and television (from 1960), were mainly oriented towards the fine arts and educational programmes. However, the NRK provided a blend of popular culture and high arts from its early days (Halse & Østbye 2003). Importantly, NRK Radio also made cultural journalism of high quality in the 1950s in the field of popular culture. The coverage of film is a good example.

In 1948 the journalist, screenwriter and author Sigurd Evensmo, who started out as a film reviewer in a local newspaper in the 30s, got his own programme, *Filmkronikken* [The Film Chronicle]. Evensmo was passionate and knowledgeable about film history and aesthetics, and being politically involved in the labour movement his perspective on film was social and ethical (Gjelsvik 2002: 45ff). The form of his programme was, not unusual for the time, a lecture. His chronicles combined aesthetical and contextual readings, always concerned with the social meanings of a film, whether European art cinema or a commercial Hollywood production. NRK Radio still has film criticism, delivered by in-house critics. However, after decades of film criticism and film journalism on television, *Filmmagasinet* (1961-1992), hosted by filmmaker and critic Pål Bang Hansen, NRK Television today no longer offers broadcasted film critique.

The role of the radio during the 1950s was, according to Bastiansen and Dahl (2008: 303), unique in Norwegian media history. In this decade *one* radio station gathered the listeners around its receivers, addressing the nation as one audience. Due to the fact that half of the airtime was filled with music, the NRK became the frontrunner of music distribution in the period. In 1946 the NRK establish an in-house orchestra – *Kringkastningsorkesteret* – which performed in several of the programmes of the broadcaster. Also, opera was broadcasted through the radio, and the NRK utilised its large gramophone archive (in 1954 the archive consisted of 55 000 records) to broadcast music. According to Halse and Østbye (2003: 105) the classic, serious genres were dominating within the content category of 'music and song'.

The NRK opened the regular broadcast of television in 1960, and with the continuation of what has been described as the paternalistic approach in broadcasting (Syvertsen et al. 2014), dissatisfied viewers spoke up. According to Henrik Bastiansen (1991: 40-45) letters to the NRK complained about programmes being 'too boring' and high culture. However, from the 1960s and onwards, the NRK broadcasted more entertainment and contemporary popular culture, and the influence of the traditional educational and cultural elites gradually declined (Dahl & Bastiansen 1999, Syvertsen et al. 2014). In the monopoly years, ending in the 1980s, the absence of competition, together with the small number of channels and universal coverage, made the NRK the most important cultural and political institution in Norway (Syvertsen et al. 2014).

The opening of a second national broadcaster in 1992, TV2, launched an outright 'TV war', leading the NRK to revise its content, its use of airtime and its goals regarding viewer numbers but also to initiate a new counter-programme policy, meaning it aired equivalent or similar content at the same hours as TV2 in hopes of retaining and obtaining viewers. Syvertsen (1997) has analysed the selection of programme types broadcasted by the NRK during the 1988-1995 period and concluded that there was in fact an increase in entertainment content (6-18 per cent) and a decrease in elitist cultural and educational content (21-9 per cent) during this period. According to Syvertsen (1997: 171, 232) the most significant changes were introduced right before the launch of TV2. Despite the changes in the television market in the 1990s, the NRK remained distinctive with regard to its programme profile and continued to broadcast much more cultural and factual programmes than its competitor, TV 2. Importantly, in the 1990s the NRK opened a second TV channel devoted to niche audiences, art and innovation in television genres and style as well as two new radio stations addressing specific segments of the public. One channel, NRK P2, became the major outlet for cultural journalism, debate and the transmission of 'serious' music (e.g. classical, contemporary, jazz).

According to Vik (2008: 132-133) a scrutiny of the programmes offered by NRK Television between the 1960s and the early 2000s documents the strong presence of cultural journalism during this period. The programmes on visual arts of the 1960s include *Tidsbilder i kunsten* [Art and Its Times] (1961-62) and *Stadier i norsk billedkunst* [Stages of Norwegian Visual Art] (1963), both hosted by the art historian Ole Henrik Moe. Furthermore, the philologist Per Simonnæs was responsible for a series of art programmes in magazine format up until the late 1990s, including the programme called *Epoke* [Epoch] (1964-1969). Typically these programmes were preoccupied with art history and the canon of Western painting.

This is also the case in the cultural journalism on literature, where leading literature scholar Francis Bull lectured on literature history for 30 minutes on primetime television in the 1960s. In the 1980s literature scholar and publisher Brikt Jensen hosted the primetime show *Bokstavelig talt* [Literary Speaking] for six seasons consisting of serious literature debates. *Bokbadet* [The Book Bath] (1996-2004), *Bokprogrammet* [The Book Programme] (2006-2014) and *Brenner og Bøkene* [Brenner and the

Books] (2014-) can be seen as a continuation of the tradition of televised debate on literature; however there are some crucial differences – the first being the shift from debate to conversation typically with one author and the second the literary scholar being replaced by a journalist. The latter is also the case in the visual arts. When the NRK launched the visual arts magazine *Safari* in 2001, a journalist had replaced the art historian as the presenter. According to Vik (2008) this represented a shift from emphasising expertise in the visual arts to journalistic expertise in television. The journalists replaced the professors, and the importance of media competence, understanding how to entertain the distracted viewer, replaced the objective of education.

Currently the concept of art is rare on the television schedule. In 2001, when *Safari* replaced *Kunst nå* [Art Now], it was argued by the then head of the Department of Culture, Turid Birkeland, that the concepts of art and culture could scare off viewers (Diesen 2005: 230, Vik 2008: 137). However, when the NRK in 2010 launched a new initiative on televised cultural journalism it was branded under the concept *Kulturstripa* [The Stripe of Culture], consisting of daily magazines on visual arts, music, literature and film in the same primetime slot every day. Importantly the initiative took place on NRK2, the niche channel with a minor market share. Cultural journalism had become an area of particular interest, and as such it was marginalised in the public cultural sphere.

Within the NRK organisation, the production of cultural programmes intended for television and radio is localised in the Department of Culture, which produces current affairs radio programmes such as *Kulturhuset* [The House of Culture], *Spillerom* [Room for Play] and *Salongen* [The Saloon] on NRK P2. These are magazine formats covering the arts, music and cultural debates. Also situated within the Department of Culture one finds a TV unit which produces weekly programmes devoted to cultural topics such as literature, including *Bokbadet* and *Brenner og Bøkene*. Even though NRK does provide a designated cultural news programme through its radio station NRK P2, it currently does not provide any programmes exclusively devoted to cultural news on TV. The cultural news is broadcasted at the end of the traditional news programme, *Dagsrevyen*, at 7 and *9 PM* on NRK1. However, *Kulturnytt* [Cultural News] was broadcasted on NRK2 from 2004-2009 but was cancelled due to the integration of *Kulturnytt* into the primetime news show *Dagsrevyen*.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have outlined some characteristics of the history of cultural journalism in Norway. We started out by making a distinction between cultural journalism as an intermediator, and as an arena of criticism and debate. We have described how cultural journalism at the dawn of modern journalism in the mid-19th century established itself as an important area for debate about politics and culture. Cultural journalism, including criticism, commentary and debate, was not only about aesthetics

but also very much interwoven with political and cultural issues and the modernisation of society. We have pointed out the importance of broadcasting, touching upon the role of public service radio and broadcasting as disseminators of culture as well as an institution providing cultural journalism. Using *Dagbladet* as a prism, we argue that this kind of cultural journalism gradually came to an end in the 1960s, as journalism became more professionalised and popularised. From the same decade popular culture such as film and pop music was given increased attention and space, and the fine arts, including literature, visual arts and theatre, although still prominent, lost its dominance in relative terms.

In regard to the cultural journalist him/herself, both historical and statistical studies suggest a long historical movement from the professional scholar to the professional journalist, from the expert of literature and visual arts educating the audience through lecturing or knowledgeable debate to the journalist who is foremost a specialist on the medium he/she works in. Traditional critical competence – that is, knowledge of and interest in traditional art forms – are specialist knowledge that are becoming increasingly located outside the staff rooms of the main newspapers and broadcasters. At the same time, traditional and innovative forms of cultural journalism are thriving in niche newspapers and specialist magazines and websites but are largely outside the daily gaze of the national mass public. While the future of cultural journalism appears far from bleak, the traditional press and its cultural journalists appear to be less important as intermediators between the larger realm of culture and the public sphere than before and are part of an ongoing process where the traditional realms of culture are also losing importance as a common resource in debates outside art – in politics, ethics and science.

Notes

1. An increasing interest in contemporary culture could also be seen in the broader field of Norwegian social science in this period (see e.g. Deichman-Sørensen, Frønes & Berkaak, 1990).
2. Some examples by cultural category include visual art (Kristiansen 2015), literature (Bu 2005, Hansen 2006), film (Krogh 2007, Laurent 2007, Norsted 2009), popular music (Holme 2004, Jensen 1996, Kviljo 2012, Salhus 2009, Segadal 2015, Tungesvik 2004), jazz and classical music (Bauska 2014, Ø. Johnsen 2006, Laberg 2010), theatre (P.D. Johnsen 2001), television entertainment (Haukanes 2013) and computer games (Nes 2010).

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5.

Cultural Journalism as a Contribution to Democratic Discourse in Sweden

Kristina Riegert & Anna Roosvall

Abstract
This chapter traces the historical development of Swedish cultural journalism as a distinctive contributor to societal debate and aesthetic discourse in the mainstream media. How did Swedish cultural journalism come to have this dual focus on politics and artistic expression, and where does it stand in relation to today's digital media landscape? The chapter deals with the hybrity of this sub-field of journalism, the meta-debates about its professionalisation and commercialisation, key cultural editors that staked out a space for cultural journalism in their newspapers and how the public service media gradually took on their own cultural journalistic roles in relation to the press.

Keywords: cultural journalism, criticism, politics, public service, digitalisation

Arts journalism is generally seen as constituted by those who work with criticism and coverage of theatre, music, literature, fine arts, etc. (Harries & Wahl-Jørgensen 2007). What in Sweden is known as *cultural journalism* is this – and more. The cultural desks of the Swedish mainstream press have, for example, in the past several years been key players in digitally circulated debates on racism and freedom of expression (Roosvall et al. 2015). This highlights what is perhaps a unique aspect of Swedish and to some extent Nordic cultural journalism: it is a distinctive contributor to public discourse on democracy issues. Swedish cultural journalism has since its inception constituted "a forum for both criticism and societal debate – with varying emphasis on politics and aesthetics" (Hemer & Forsare 2010: 7).[1] It is a hybrid sub-field of journalism where intellectuals, authors, artists and journalists produce criticism, news, reportage, essays and debate on artistic expression and societal-ethical dilemmas. In this chapter, we outline how Swedish cultural journalism came to have this dual focus on politics and aesethetics and where it stands in relation to today's media landscape.

Perhaps because of the breadth of this sub-field, there are no comprehensive studies of Swedish cultural journalism.[2] This chapter therefore turns, in parts, to historical works by cultural desk practitioners and general studies of journalism in the public

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service media. When it comes to studies of *arts criticism*, there are few emanating from media/journalism studies, but many more from arts disciplines. Regarding the latter, we focus on cultural journalism's flagship literary criticism, and particularly on studies employing a longer historical perspective.

In our account of Swedish cultural journalism overall we consider specifically the following traits:

- The relationship between *aesthetic and societal content*, due to the hybridity of cultural journalism indicated above.
- *Crucial editors and contributors* to cultural journalism, who illustrate development and turning points in the field.
- *Meta-critique and internal debates*: discussions in cultural journalism about cultural journalism, of an alleged declining quality of criticism, (lack of) autonomy of cultural journalists and the presence of mass culture/entertainment.

Finally, we highlight the increase in women journalists and international outlooks in cultural journalism, including historical relations to other Nordic countries.

We focus this overview on the evolution of Swedish cultural journalism mainly on leading newspapers and public service broadcasting, highlighting how the various media have developed their monitoring, reflecting, scrutinizing and debating roles in the Swedish media landscape. For the press, our focus is determined by which newspapers' cultural pages have been subject to extensive studies/historicisation (e.g. *Dagens Nyheter*). Regarding the Swedish public service institutions, we limit ourselves to the formats that have their counterparts in the press, i.e. cultural news, magazine programmes and cultural documentaries, rather than to their roles as cultural producers (of theatre or music performances).

The evolution of Swedish cultural journalism in the press

Predecessors to cultural journalism

There are four tendencies in cultural journalism's predecessors that we argue are characteristic of its subsequent broad and hybrid character in Sweden. First, already in the 18th century cultural journalism consisted of debate. Poet, theatre critic and founder of *Stockholmsposten* (1778) Johan Henric Kellgren, for instance, contributed to debates concerning literary authorship (Elam 2010: 14). Second, it contributed to views of the world outside of Sweden in "letters" published from abroad covering societal and cultural events. Carl Jonas Love Almqvist's letters from Paris in 1840 in *Aftonbladet*, for instance, included an opera review comprising more explicitly political events in Paris (Ibid. 10-11, 16). Thereby, a third trait is concurrently conveyed: an interest in political issues in cultural journalism. Further, these examples reveal a fourth trait characteristic of contemporary Swedish cultural journalism: they refer to articles written by famous highbrow authors (still relevant and read today).

The seeds of a profession (1760s-1840s)

In the 18th and 19th centuries there was no established newspaper page labelled "culture". However, during the second half of the 18th century it became possible to make a living as a free publicist and to be a professional critic, of which the earliest examples occur in England, according to Hauser (1972, cited in Nilsson 1975: 32). In Sweden the priest and poet Olof Bergklint, active in the 1760s, has been called the "first" critic (Forser 2012: 24; Rydén 1987: 33). The Swedish press was an early producer of music journalism, compared to other countries; regular music criticism occured already around 1780 in Sweden (Widestedt 2000: 21), which at this time included Finland. However, it was not until the 1830s that the use of the rotary press facilitated large editions that made journalism more publicly accessible (Elam 2010: 14-19). *Aftonbladet*, Sweden's largest newspaper today was founded in 1830. Wendela Hebbe, a renowned novelist, playwright, and social reportage writer, was in practice what could be seen as *Aftonbladet's* first cultural editor, having started there in 1841, doing book and theatre reviews (Ibid. 17, Andersson 2008). It was also during the 1840s that the 'feuilleton' entered Swedish newspapers, with its mix of theatre criticism, philosophical, scientific and literary essays, as well as the type of series of fictional stories that are today known as feuilletons (Nilsson 1975: 35-37).

Expansion of the press: arts and societal criticism (1850s-1910s)

During the second half of the 19th century the daily press expanded heavily, from seven to fourteen daily newspapers and from a circulation of 100,000 to 500,000 (Hadenius & Weibull 1978/1999: 50). In 1864 *Dagens Nyheter* (DN), today the most read quality daily in Sweden, was launched. Nilsson (1975: 46-47) characterizes *DN* during its first decades as largely lacking cultural material. However, in 1873, August Strindberg, who was to become one of the most well-known Swedish authors and playwrights to date, was employed at *DN* as what Lundqvist (2012: 27) calls its first cultural writer, covering art openings and theatre premieres (Ibid. 30). His expressive writing differed from the previous short paragraphs (notifications rather than reviews) on cultural events (Ibid. 32). Strindberg also went to Paris and wrote reviews of French art (Ibid. 39).

In 1879 *DN* published a 'cultural editorial' – a previously unknown feature – claiming that conservative newspapers' cultural coverage (particularly literary criticism), was mainly read by academics and the rich, and that these newspapers avoided "unpleasant social and political issues", while the liberal press (*DN*) dealt with political issues and thereby had less room for literary criticism (Lundqvist 2012: 50). Thus, we see an expressed ideal to include both aesthetics and politics in cultural journalism, and a struggle regarding the balance between them, in this early example of meta-critique.

During the 1880s class conflicts were significant and the newspapers were closely connected to political parties (Nilsson 1975: 48-49). *DN*'s cultural material increased; mainly through reports on theatre and music events, which any general reporter could be designated to write (Lundqvist 2012: 49, Rydén 1987). Rydén (1987: 452) dates the

birth of Swedish literary criticism to 1880; when increased numbers of newspapers, increased space, and increased book publication paved the way for it. A couple of woman critics of this era are specifically noteworthy. Anna Branting was according to Rydén (p. 459) ahead of her time, personifying women critics in being deeply knowledgeable about what she was covering, without being dependent on main actors in those fields (theatre, literature). Ellen Key, in turn, expressed an early example of meta-critique, suggesting that criticism should cease for at least 10 years, since it harmed poets, mislead the public and needed to rethink its remit (Rydén 1987: 232).

Stockholm-based *Svenska Dagbladet* (SvD) was founded in 1884, reconstructed in 1897, and subsequently associated with prominent authors and literary critics Verner von Heidenstam, Oscar Levertin and Hjalmar Söderberg. It was profiled as a conservative newspaper for intellectuals with a cultural profile (Sandlund n.date, Lundvist 2012: 105). This changed towards the 1910s when it became a more general (conservative) newspaper. Nilsson (1975: 61) notes that cultural coverage seems to have marked what audience the Stockholm newspapers wanted to address; where SvD addressed the intellectuals, *DN* strove to be popular and did not want cultural material to 'take over'. *Göteborgs Handels och Sjöfarts Tidning* (GHT) concurrently increased its cultural coverage significantly between the 1880s and the beginning of the 20th century, employing extensive and elaborate reviews (Forser 2002: 25-26).

A defining characteristic of Swedish cultural journalism from the 1880s to the 1910s is the significance of connections between the Nordic countries. For example,

Fact Box 1

The Strindberg feud (1910-1912)

According to Nyblom (2011) perhaps the most extensive cultural-societal debate to date, encompassing:

- around a thousand debate articles and satirical drawings
- 300 people
- 80 newspapers

Start: a number of "angry articles" by Strindberg concerning what he considered organized public lying by conservative institutions:

- the church
- the military
- the Swedish academy
- monarchy

…and what Strindberg saw as unjustifiable Swedish national heroes, e.g.:

- king Karl XII ("the war king", 1682-1718)
- Verner von Heidenstam (contemporary national romantic author/critic, subsequently member of the Swedish Academy)

End: Strindberg's death, 1912

the Danish literary critic and academic Georg Brandes in Denmark, contributed to GHT (Forser 2002: 27). According to Rydén (1987: 471) everyone in Sweden needed to relate to Brandes, if only to dismiss him. The time period is also marked by the disintegration of the union between Sweden and Norway 1905 (Rydén 1987: 471). In this context, the so-called Strindberg feud occurred with its focus on what Sweden and Swedish heroes were or should be (Fact box 1). Ivar Harrie, the first editor-in-chief of the tabloid *Expressen* (founded in 1944), saw the Strindberg feud and other debates of the 1910s as the first real expressions of cultural journalism, since they clearly developed into societal opinion journalism (Lundqvist 2012: 104).

The Cultural Pages in the 20th and 21st centuries: Turning points, editors, profiles

Regular cultural pages are established: 1920s-1940s

SvD introduced in 1918 a "daily cultural column" ["kulturella dagskrönika"], a forum for cultural issues from an international perspective, and other newspapers, like *Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällposten* followed suit (Nilsson 1975: 68-69). The first Swedish regular cultural journalism *page* appeared in GHT in 1918 (Gustavsson 2008).[3] It was soon followed by equivalents in other newspapers, such as *DN*, employing its first cultural editor in 1919 (Nilsson 1975: 70) and *SvD*, which engaged Fredrik Böök, Professor of Literary Studies, as cultural editor in 1923 (Elam 2010: 18). According to Rydén (1987: 461-462) Fredrik Böök, was "the leading critic in the leading newspaper for literature" during what he identifies as the golden age of Swedish literary criticism (1907-1928). Another 'great critic' John Landqvist (e.g. *DN* and *Aftonbladet* between 1911 and 1974) polemicized against Böök (Rydén 1987: 467) in this era's version of meta-critique. Landqvist argued that a critic who is not also a novelist/poet has the advantage of being able to deem as inferior that which he could have done himself. Many critics at this time were however novelists/poets, as well as members of the Swedish Academy. Thereby they enjoyed great power in the field.

The constitution of regular cultural pages in major newspapers during the 1920s is explained like this by Harrie:

> …the way communication worked in our vast country, is that they [the large newspapers, now aspiring to become national newspapers] could not deliver news before the local press did, but they could well outbid them with lavish stuff for their reading pleasure. The cultural material was part of this since the national audience consisted to a large extent of people who wanted to 'be updated' on timely conversations about what was happening at the centres of power. (Cited in Nilsson 1975: 74).

Some newspapers did not feature regular cultural pages until the 1930s/40s (Nilsson 1974: 41). During these decades the cultural material often appeared on the same page as editorials and political debate articles, like in *Aftonbladet* (Nilsson 1975: 78).

Aftonbladet turned in 1946 into an evening tabloid and *Expressen* appeared as its competitor (Nilsson 1975: 77-78). To this day *Aftonbladet*'s cultural section is still placed close to editorials and debate – far from entertainment, and *Expressen* eventually adopted this structure.

Furthermore, during this time period, what Rydén (1987: 476-481) calls "the defining battle" of Swedish literary critique occured (1929-1945): a battle between conservatism and modernism, which modernism eventually won.

Autonomy struggles and increased politicisation: 1950s-1960s

Olof Lagercrantz was cultural editor at *DN* 1951-1960, and subsequently one of its editors-in-chief, 1960-1975. He had crucial influence on Swedish cultural journalism's development, through his style of critique and battle for an autonomous cultural desk, free from the influence of editors-in-chief and other stakeholders. Lagercrantz was a literary scholar (who previously worked at SvD, 1940-1951). When he joined *DN* (1951), the cultural page could not print opinions that were in conflict with the newspapers' editorial position (also true of other newspapers at the time, Lundqvist 2012: 235-236). Lagercrantz stated in his declaration of intent that, "the premier task of cultural debate is to examine and assess the values and norms that rule contemporary society and guide thought and action" (cited in Lundqvist 2012: 239). The cultural desk was not to have 'the right' opinions, but to 'freely ask the right questions' – to constitute a field of intellectual experiment. Lundqvist claims that this declaration was an expression of the independence of the cultural pages from the editorial page, which Lagercrantz recurrently had to fight for (Fact box 2). Lagercrantz's position encouraged other Swedish newspapers to grant cultural desks more autonomy so that they could reflect different (generally more radical) editorial lines than the otherwise mainly bourgeois press (Nilsson 1975).

In 1960, when Lagercrantz and political editor Sven-Erik Larsson both became *DN*'s editors-in-chief, the cultural desk became increasingly politicized, and as the division between politics and culture between the two leaders became blurred, clashes increased between them (Lundqvist 2012: 276-280). A study of the cultural material[4] in 11 Swedish dailies concludes that societal issues in cultural coverage increased by more than 50 per cent between 1960-1965, mostly in newspapers that previously had relatively little of it (*SvD, Sydsvenska Dagbladet Snällposten, Aftonbladet),* but also in *DN* and *Stockholmstidningen* which already had a great deal of societal material (Nilsson 1974: 132). This accelerated during the latter part of the 1960s (an average 75 per cent increase 1965-1969) reflecting the rise of anti-authoritarian and counterculture movements in Sweden (Ibid. 136). Furthermore, the placement of this material was increasingly concentrated on the cultural pages (Ibid. 138). In 1969 societal subjects constituted more than 30 per cent of the cultural page material (Ibid. 178). Elam (2010) terms cultural journalism as politicized from this decade on (see also Forser 2002: 146).

Fact Box 2

Autonomy feuds at the cultural page at DN: three controversies

- *1954*: Lagercrantz was prohibited by the editor-in-chief to publish an article by the Finnish-Swedish poet Hagar Olson critical of the campaign for Swedish nuclear weapons (which DN was engaged in).
- *1957*: Lagercrantz who had risen in rank and was part of the editorial team published an article critical of nuclear weapons without showing it to the Editor-in-chief beforehand. (Lundqvist, 2012: 253-254)
- *1966*: An article by world famous author and director Peter Weiss about Vietnam was published as a leading article on the cultural page. DN's Chairman of the Board called Weiss a communist and asked Lagercratz to denounce the article in the editorial space. Lagercrantz, who was himself critical of the article, underlined that the newspaper should also publish opinions that were not its own. A debate cannot be considered free if every time an article expresses opinions that appear dubious to owners or Editors-in-chiefs an editorial appears objurgating its author. *Those who confuse what is published in the byline on the cultural page with the newspapers' official opinion have misunderstood the principles according to which the newspaper is and should be handled*, writes Lagercrantz (1990: 107-108).

The 1960s was also a time when "the questions asked" were increasingly about other parts of the world. Agneta Pleijel, later *Aftonbladet*'s cultural editor, a famous novelist and academic, worked as a poetry critic at *Kvällsposten* 1966-1968, a time of radicalism at this newspaper too (Sjögren 2008: 578). After a trip to Ethiopia in 1967, she wrote a series of articles on poetry and politics, introducing new more global outlooks which included reviewing new types of cultural products, such as a Vietnam War documentary (Ibid. 585-586). The Vietnam War was also debated fiercely on *DN*'s cultural page, and several people employed there covered other parts of the world, e.g. France, Latin American literature (Lundqvist 2012: 277, 289).[5]

Concurrently the cultural pages started to adjust to the broader editing style of the newspaper, thus appearing more journalistic and less highbrow, going for "more brash angles and tougher approaches" (Nycop 1968: 49, cited in Nilsson 1974: 44). Certain writers were spotlighted, with recurring columns and vignettes (Nilsson 1974: 51). Some cultural content was handled on 'entertainment' or 'stage pages'; theatre, music and film was regularly presented within that frame (Nilsson 1974: 52).[6] In 1954 a separate desk with a separate editor had been created for *DN*'s "theatre page" and it expanded during the 1960s (Lundqvist 2012: 312). Lundqvist calls these pages "alternative cultural pages", since they were less aesthetically conservative and lacked the debate element (Ibid. 313, 320).They contained the seeds of the later integration of culture and entertainment that blossomed in the 1990s-2000s.

Politics, popular culture and diminishing editorial power: 1970s-2000s

During the 1970s, the political tendencies in cultural journalism became more green than red (Lundqvist 2012: 321), and the key definers of critique from the 1960s – Marxist perspectives, opposition towards the USA – were gradually substituted by 'postmodernism' and 'deconstruction' (Rydén 1987: 514). Influential critics were e.g.: Mats Gellerfeldt (SvD) who incidentally blamed literary criticism for the bad state of Swedish prose (Rydén 1987: 510) and Ruth Halldén (*DN*, *Upsala Nya Tidning*) who focused on foreign literature (Rydén 1987: 504-505). Rydén (1987: 505) underlines that Halldén, like the aforementioned Anna Branting, can be seen as a representative of woman critics in that she was independent and unattached: woman writers have often "kept themselves outside of decision-making circles". While this independence may sound laudible, the downside is that men have mainly made the decisions and had the power to keep others out. This time period overall contains a greater share of woman critics (Rydén 1987), but when Agneta Pleijel became cultural editor at *Aftonbladet* 1975 she was still the only woman among seven people at the cultural desk (Forser 2002).

After the introduction of an op-ed page in SvD in 1974 (by Gustaf von Platen), *DN* followed suit in 1984 (Lundqvist 2012: 362). This is significant because debate had previously mainly occurred in the cultural sections (Nilsson 1974: 50, 140, Lundqvist 2012: 362). When a separate op-ed page was introduced and placed opposite the cultural page in *DN* in 1984 the relatively new cultural editor, Arne Ruth (1982-1998), saw this as an asset; political-economic elites would populate the op-ed page allowing the cultural page to remain the home of free writers. Further, the cultural page was focused on arguments and dialogue, while the op-ed page was not necessarily interested in exchange (Lundqvist 2012: 363). In 1990 Culture appeared as a separate section in *DN* – as did News, Work and Money, Stockholm/Sport.

Ruth viewed this division as an opportunity to get more space for culture (Ibid. 392). Others were sceptical, noting that culture was transformed from being the most vital part of societal debate to being part of "entertainment journalism" in a supplement to the main newspaper. Ruth however thought that "light culture" should be treated seriously (Ibid.). He concurrently recruited people with diverse political leanings to write about society, e.g. investigative journalist Maciej Zaremba and literary scholar Stefan Jonsson, and also wrote societal cultural journalism himself (Lundqvist 2012: 366, 402).

In 1998 Ruth resigned following continuous battles with the owners, the managing director and the board, after which the board eliminated the cultural editor's autonomy (Lundqvist 2012: 376, 403). The next cultural editor, Ingrid Elam resigned after a year. Lundqvist (2012: 404) notes that Elam, Ruth, and before them Lagercrantz, Torsten Fogelqvist and John Landqvist all left their cultural editorships at *DN* following autonomy conflicts.

Oscar Hemer (2010: 22) who worked at the cultural desk at *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* describes his newspaper's "culture battle" for autonomy, which started in 1991. Ac-

cording to Hemer (2010: 31) the 1990s attempts to subordinate the cultural desks were due to market-induced structural re-organisation of the press. While some cultural journalists bemoaned the blurring of boundaries between high and popular culture (e.g Gustavsson 2008), it was fear of loss of autonomy and voice in important societal debates that drove these battles, says Hemer (2010: 26, 31). At *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* culture subsequently had to merge with entertainment, essential opinion journalism migrated to other parts of the newspaper, the space for critique decreased, *and* autonomy had to be yielded (Hemer, 2010: 28, 33). Ingrid Elam, cultural editor at *Göteborgs-Posten* and *DN*, summarized conflicts between cultural journalists and owners: "While cultural writers dream of their texts permeating every recess of society and preferably toppling a government or two, the newspaper owners would rather juxtapose culture with coffee and brandy" (Örnberg 1995: 5-6).

Today only Åsa Linderborg, cultural editor at *Aftonbladet* is independent of the editor-in-chief, which made her declare: "I am the last cultural editor" (Riegert et. al. 2015). In recent years, many regional newspapers owned by conglomerates have merged their cultural desks with larger newspapers in the same conglomerate. This connects to the "crisis" in journalism (Blumler 2010) and should be viewed in relation to digitalisation, which will be discussed at the end of this chapter.

Zooming in on criticism: music and literature reviews

In this section we draw on a few historical studies of literary and music criticism.[7] Do the fears of some of the meta-dabates, which are generally critical of the development of criticism, correspond to empirical findings? How does criticism change over time, and who are the ones performing it (over time)? Since literary criticism has generally dominated the cultural pages when compared to other cultural expressions (Nilsson 1974: 178), we concentrate on this area. Further, we include Widestedt's (2001) study of music criticism since it is the only Swedish historical study of a specific area of arts criticism undertaken within journalism studies.

Finland-Swedish critic Bengt Holmqvist, dubbed the "last great critic" in Sweden (Forser 2002: 192), defines criticism as "analysis, examination and documented evaluation" (cited in Lundqvist 2012: 244).[8] Kristina Widestedt adds that criticism is about constructing the art form, i.e. music, as an object of knowledge, controlling knowledge produced about music and determining definitions of what music is (2001: 14-15). Thereby she advocates a power perspective, which seems crucial given struggles concerning high/low, politics/aesthetics, gender (see below), and the influence of critics that are members of the Swedish Academy. Widestedt's (2001) study of live concert reviews in the daily press 1780-1995 demonstrates that the reviews do not just evaluate performances, they also narrate the social and cultural contexts of their times. The unruly audience of the 19th century was eventually disciplined by the critics in the 20th century – in parallell with politicians disciplining the nation – through ideas related to

"the people's home" which served to erase aesthetic and political conflicts. By the end of the 20th century critical analysis was superceded by spontaneous personal feelings, while aesthetic evaluation and political vision became less important (Ibid. 155-157). Widestedt (2001: 152) offers two ways of interpreting the changes. They can be seen *either* "negatively" as "culture in decline", a decrease in rationalist discourse, *or* more "positively" as a victory for emotion that helps criticism preserve its role during times when the strong public role of music is dissolving.

Lina Samuelsson (2013) who analyses literary criticism in newspapers at three points in time (1906, 1956, 2006) also finds that more current texts (2006) are more personal. What stood out in 1906 were reviews championing Swedish nationalism and national character (subsequently the butt of the "Strindberg feud", see Fact Box 1). In 1956 this was replaced by existential questions in the aftermath of World War II. Samuelsson also questions the often-assumed position about the decline of cultural critique in the mainstream press (e.g. Gustavsson 2008, Lund 2005). As of 2006, she did not see a quantitative decline of literary criticism. Samuelsson (2015) followed this up in a meta-critique article published on *DN*'s cultural pages in 2015, where she reported the results of one sample week, showing a decline in reviews of fiction. However, she did not find the reviews to be more monolithic which could be expected by concentration of ownership. In the end, despite mentioned differences between the examined years (1906, 1956, 2006), Samuelsson (2013: 155) writes that the review genre has not gone through any major changes.

Forser (2002: 152) notes however significant changes in Swedish 20th century literary criticism, i.e. "the tabloidisation of criticism", signified by huge headlines, stout leads, over-dimensioned images, lack of structure and clear distinctions. The expert role of the critic diminishes in connection to this (p. 153). This illustrates Hellman and Jaakkola's (2012) findings on cultural journalism in Finland that a journalistic/generalistic, less expertise-based paradigm gradually overshadows the aesthetic paradigm. Another shift in cultural critique from the late 1980s can be illustrated by an example of meta-critique, sprung from reactions to what Åsa Beckman at *DN* termed male critics' mis-readings of the poet Ann Jäderlund (Fact Box 3). Lundqvist (2012: 391) notes that *DN*'s cultural criticism and debate becomes re-invigorated in the 1990s because of this (cf. Forser 2002: 139-140, Lundqvist 2012: 380-381). Samuelsson (2013) also notes that the number of woman critics gradually increased; in 2006 the number of women and men was equal.

'The new critic' of the 21st century is however in Forser's (2002: 151) account exemplified by men, e.g. Per Svensson (*Kvällsposten*, *Expressen*, *Sydvenska Dagbladet*), who write about virtually anything: mass murderers, the cartoon bear Bamse, the demise of "the people's home", and highbrow authors. The new critic is a multitasking 'star journalist'. In parallel to this Forser recognizes alternative tendencies of more ideologically driven critics, like Mikael Lövgren (i.e. *DN*), with a clear international perspective. Forser's (2002: 202) detailing of Swedish 20th century literary criticism ends with a sentence echoing the definition of Swedish cultural journalism at large, stated in the introduction;

Fact box 3

A turning point: Åsa Beckman's article starts a feud on gender and critique

Headline: **"On male critics' readings of new female poetry: Practice stepping out of your gender!"**
Extract: "The reviews clarify the differences between male and female readers. They illustrate the pressing need for more female critics. The idea that men would not be able to understand female texts, or vice versa, is of course absurd. Nevertheless, perhaps women, in contrast to men, are forced to learn how to read in border-transgressing ways, and so to speak leave their gender…"
(Åsa Beckman, DN, 24 November 1988)

Headline: **"Åsa Beckman responds to Tommy Olofsson: Reading is transgressing borders"**
Extract: "I did of course not call for a collective sex change among male critics. When I talked about gender-transgressing reading, I meant the ability to stretch yourself to the extent that you take interest in the more specific complex of problems of another gender."
(Åsa Beckman, DN, 9 Dec, 1988, reply to Svenska Dagbladet's Tommy Olofsson's response to her original article)

it is a journalism signified by *societal relevance*: "It is in the democratic communicative exchange that daily criticism can motivate its role in the media and defend its space".

Finding their Roles: Cultural Journalism in Swedish Public Service Broadcasting

The public service company Sveriges Radio (SR) had a monopoly position in the radio and television market until 1991 (TV) and 1993 (radio), making it one of Europe's longest broadcasting monopolies. SR was founded in 1925 as a cultural institution where listeners were to be educated in the fine arts, "intellectually and spiritually cultivated", and equipped with the knowledge necessary for democratic life (Nordmark 1999: 17). Currently, there are four national and 28 local SR channels, with seven television channels under SVT's umbrella, where another public service company UR (Educational Broadcasting) transmits on the above-mentioned radio and TV channels.[9] The largest private terrestrial TV4 has film, literature and music reviews weaved into its talk shows, but no cultural magazine programme or specific cultural desk. Apart from a few examples,[10] the commercial broadcasting companies have not invested in cultural journalism, whether due to the perception that the PSBs should be more committed to "culture", or to the perceived inability to attract large audiences with cultural journalism.

This overview of PSB cultural journalism draws heavily on the Swedish Foundation for Broadcast History's 16-volume series, particularly on two volumes. [11] Dag

Nordmark's volume covers cultural monitoring and magazine programmes as defined below. Monica Djerf-Pierre and Lennart Weibull's volume and its English version (2001, 2013) characterize the PSBs in terms of a series of evolutionary "regimes": educator, monitor, critic and interpreter with regard to their communicative ethos, their journalistic representation, and relations to political/economic power as well as to audiences. They trace the development of SR from an educational institution, to one more actively monitoring other institutions, becoming involved in the debates of the day, ending up in the role as interpreter of contemporary life. As the monitoring, critique and debate functions grew, more specific genres developed with the professionalisation of the journalists and producers. The focus here will be on three genres – cultural news, general cultural magazine programmes and cultural documentaries. The examples given are long-running programs and the emphasis is on turning points rather than a full chronology of both media. Information about the cultural departments in 1990s and 2000s, especially for radio, is quite sketchy in these volumes. More recent periods in SR/SVT history is covered in chapter 6 of this book. Lastly, this overview will not deal with the PSBs' own cultural production. The division between cultural production and cultural monitoring is at times tenuous, but we see the latter as demarcating cultural *journalism*. Another thing to note is that throughout the 20th century, SR and SVT shadow the press, in regards to monitoring, scrutinizing and debating culture. This is in part due to their public service obligations, but as we will see, SR (in the 1960s) and SVT (in the 2000s) carved out niches for themselves in this arena.

Radio: From education to societal cultural criticism

Early radio content was dominated by educational and fine arts programming, divided into music, theatre and 'lecture' departments. SR's role was to serve a nation-building, educative and "recreative" function, and to leave controversial political subjects to the party press. This period is seen as one where the mass media were instruments for the modernisation and the refinement of the citizen. However, when radio attempted to follow the cultural pages of the press by instituting criticism in *Kulturkrönikan* [Culture Chronicle] 1926-1928, SR got into trouble with the literary and theatrical institutions who complained that radio's large audience and lack of right of reply distorted the market (Nordmark 1999: 59-61). This prompted the introduction of more in-depth formats for various aesthetic areas, and a justification of the public service remit to include monitoring and critiquing current cultural events (Ibid. 157).

A new format of cultural magazine programme was introduced in 1942, including interviews, commentary, and short reportage. Programmes included *Konst och kulturvårdskrönika, Teaterkrönika, Musikkrönika, Filmspegel* [Art and Cultural Heritage Chronicles, Theatre Report, Music Report, Film Reflections] (Nordmark 1999: 113). Specific arts programmes such as these are common today in both radio and television, but here we focus on the omnibus cultural magazine programmes.

After World War II, a more active monitoring of national and international developments characterises Sveriges Radio as a whole (Djerf-Pierre & Weibull 2001). A cultural magazine called *Tidsspegel* [Mirror of the Times], employing a broader concept of culture, was introduced in 1947 and lasted until 1966, although it became more current affairs oriented towards the end. *Tidspegel* was a mix of societal debate and "orientation" – the latest news from the theatre, arts, literature and film, as well as the important cultural debates in the press (Djerf-Pierre & Weibull 2001: 96).

> /…/ *Tidsspegel* could deal with farming questions, Swedish church missionaries, the contemporary novel, the spelling reform and new child-raising ideals. The program thus launched a broader concept of culture than was common, one where the boundaries between culture and society began to blur. Here one can sense the contours of the broader sociologically and ethnologically inspired definition of culture promoted by the Labour movement in the 1950s and under the golden years of left-wing radicalism in the 1960s and 70s when it dominated public discourse. (Nordmark 1999: 113-114).

Nordmark describes the programme as having a "pro et contra" model of debate, using cultural figures and other guests, thus illuminating controversial questions under the watchful eyes of the PSB's impartiality monitors. By the mid-50s, the Cultural Department at Sveriges Radio was producing programmes on science, religion, family, current affairs and contemporary debates. However, the Cultural Department wasn't divided into different desks before the mid-60s: Current Affairs (1965), Literature and Art, Science and Research, and Family and Society (1968) (Ibid. 174).

In 1963, the cultural magazine *OBS! Kulturkvarten* [Forum for Debate on Culture and Ideas] started and is still on air.[12] *OBS!* became radio's version of cultural-societal debate, for fifteen minutes five days a week. It quickly became controversial and a reference point for the newspaper debates of the day; it also prompted complaints to the Radio Commission on charges of left-wing bias (Ibid. 256). *OBS!* was intended to cover national and international cultural affairs: the cultural desk as well as foreign correspondents worked on it. According to SR's in-house magazine, *Röster i radio och TV*, *OBS!* aimed to develop the debate, and not just with a "narrow definition of culture like literature, art and criticism, but also what is happening in political, social and scientific areas" (Djerf-Pierre & Weibull 2001: 177). *OBS!* wanted to "do cultural criticism from a societal perspective, and societal critique from a cultural perspective" (Ibid). *OBS!* prided itself on having a unique voice, independent of the cultural desk in Stockholm (Pålsson 2010: 82). Before it was revamped in 2009 and again in 2016, *OBS!* had a host and two external voices reading a column each and debate section dealing either with the humanities or arts reviews.

As noted in the quote above, the broad definition of culture – and including both societal and cultural issues – may have started in the late 1940s, but in the radical 1960s and 70s, the journalistic understanding of its cultural remit grew broader, blurring the boundaries between culture and current affairs. This period coincided with: the

increase in number of radio and television channels, more women and young people being hired as journalists and cultural producers, journalism's professionalisation, and its turn to a scrutiny of powerful institutions (Djerf-Pierre & Weibull 2001).

One example of the recurring debate on the popularisation of cultural content in cultural journalism can be traced to this period. It resulted from the organisational reform championed by the head of radio programming, Nils Olof Franzén, in 1968. Its goal was to stem the tide of radio listeners to television by strengthening news and current affairs, and allowing more popular music into programming. This led to the introduction of cultural news, more profiled programmes with clearer target audiences, and stable broadcasting times, e.g. "block" programming at Swedish Radio. "Frasse's cultural revolution" was the euphemism given to Franzén's vision by those working there (Nordmark 1999: 143-151). Critics feared the reform would lead to the "simplification, journalification and popularisation" of the cultural offerings at SR (Ibid. 151). Cultural news started as part of the regular news service and got its own time slot in 1980. At the time, the critics argued for a space for "high culture" on a targeted channel, and this is the *de facto* position of today's P1 and P2.[13] Thus, both sides of this debate have advanced: a concentrated offering of initiated cultural journalism as well as the more easily accessible "journalification" of cultural coverage on other channels in SR today.

This SR debate is similar to the 1990s press (and television) debates about the encroachment of mass culture into cultural monitoring, critique and debate. It has to do with what role cultural journalism should play in offering high and popular culture, and how to interpret "cultural democracy" without pandering to commercialized mass culture. Public service insitutions are intended as socially responsible counterweights to commercial culture – not to encourage it. On the other hand, the debates about the politicisation of culture (discussed more below), which grew out of the blurred boundaries between cultural and current affairs, are perhaps even more threatening to public service cultural divisions since this is more easily accused of political partisanship.

Television: cultural journalism finding its form

In the 1960s, the controversies about public service television were similar to that of radio, but more accentuated, due to the increase in television sets in the country, and to its higher profile. Television was still called Sveriges Radio (SR) until it became the subsidiary SVT under the mother company SR in 1978 (Prop 2000/01: 11). Three major organisational changes at SVT are noteable: the introduction of a second channel, TV2 (1969); the decentralisation and re-organisation of the companies (1987), where Kanal 1 became the "Stockholm" channel and TV2 was run by 11 regional districts; and the re-centralisation and market orientation of 2000. The latter was meant to strengthen and streamline SVT to meet commercial and digital competition (Lindén 2011). In the first two reforms, the two channels were supposed to compete against each other.

In the last, the PSBs were under pressure to justify their existence in a crowded and digializing media market.

Early television had a remarkably large proportion of art and cultural history programmes. David Rynell-Åhlin's study of SR TV between 1958-1969 characterises this as negotiations aimed at both experimenting with televisuality, and of finding ways of democratising elite culture (2016: 116-123). He develops Malin Wahlberg's seminal article on televison's aim to educate by connecting museums, film and arts programming through the Film Department's prodigious production of short films, documentaries and studio programs – i.e. through 'art propaganda'. These programmes decreased markedly with the introduction of TV2 (Wahlberg 2008: 206, 217). Rynell-Åhlin says that the arts and cultural magazines demonstrated an 'ideological-social-political' prism of current events, or what Furhammar called a "leftist orientation", also found in theatre, literature, film, music, and even in children's TV shows of this period (2013: 255). While controversial, it was defended by producers saying the arts reflected the critical climate of opinion in Sweden and the wider world. However, it was also the result of producers' efforts to "tear down the wall between society and culture" (Rynell-Åhlin 2016: 119).

The pubic service view in the 1970s was that cultural issues should not be "ghettoised" into specialized subject areas. Cultural programmes on television could thus: "/…/be about anything from lace-making to traffic policy" (Nordmark 1999: 249). Culture could be found in news, early evening "café" talk shows and light-entertainment programmes, although the cultural department was reportedly at pains to keep the latter at bay. The news programmes considered culture "soft news" and round-off items, and gave about 5 per cent of their news time to culture (Nordmark 1999: 252). There was however a perceived necessity to find a balance between the fine arts and the more folksy art scene. In this period, two television genres are important for monitoring cultural events: the cultural magazine and the cultural documentary. TV1 offered several general and arts-specific magazines, whereas the cultural division at TV2, called the "free cultural group", initially focused on experimental documentaries and reportage about free theatre groups, folk culture, regional and local culture. It later produced the magazine *Igelkotten* [The Hedgehog] in 1977, which demonstrated a strongly societal interpretation of culture. Media debates on SVT's cultural coverage during the 1970s concerned how the arts were allegedly forced to service political/societal needs, but also fears about the increasing commercialisation and popularisation of culture (Nordmark 1999: 247-257).

Furthermore, several government-commissioned white papers criticised SVT for its poor monitoring of Swedish culture and the arts, especially literature and the visual arts (Ibid). Funding cuts, a government-inspired plan to reorganise the public service company and a general change in the Swedish climate of opinion influenced the public broadcaster's position in the 1980s. The SVT of the 1980s is characterised by heavy fiscal constraints and shortlived omnibus cultural magazines. There is a focus on commissioning quality cultural documentaries and celebrated artist biographies

(Furhammar 1995: 205-211, 250-252). While certain magazines, like the long-running *Filmkrönikan* [Film Chronicles] (1954-2008) still aired, the new cultural magazines like *Gyllene snittet* [The Golden Ratio] (1981-1983), *Kulturtimmen* [Cultural Hour] and *Kulturkorrespondenten* [Cultural Correspondents] (1983) – were short-lived (Nordmark 1999: 328). In the late 1980s, the SVT theatre ensemble was let go and the emphasis increasingly focused on working with independent producers, co-productions with foreign partners and the Swedish film industry. The re-organisation and decentralisation of SR and SVT was effected in 1986-1987. Djerf-Pierre & Weibull (2013: 323) characterise the period of 1985-2005 as a journalistic regime of "interpreting ombudsman" for audiences in an increasingly deregulated and commercialised media landscape. This, they argue, is characterised by journalists increasingly appearing as experts, speculating about consequences, advocating various alternatives. Ultimately it is a self-referential journalism ("re-mediating and re-interpreting events mediated in the first place").

Satellite television was introduced in 1987, adding to the pressures on the PSB monopoly created by home video. By 1992 terrestrial TV4 and Nordic-language satellite channels (e.g. TV3, TV5, ZTV) added to the commercialisation and fragmentation of the media landscape. The government reiterated its position of the cultural responsibility of the PSBs in stimulating and monitoring Swedish culture and catering to Sweden's ethnically diverse "multicultural" base (Prop. 2000/01:94, 11). SVT tried to meet this demand by aiming for at least a 50 per cent audience share, identifying various target audiences, commissioning and co-producing documentaries and reality TV programmes, amid criticism of pandering to commercial pressures. The 1990s saw a renewed effort to create interesting cultural magazines, such as *Kulturen* (1988-1992) and *Nike* (1993-1999), the latter building on long-form reportages in every episode. Magazine programmes came from the regional districts: *Rikets Kultur* [The Nation's Culture] (Örebro), *Bildjournalen* [Image Diary] (Malmö), *I Rampljuset* [In the Spotlight] (Gothenburg), *Röda Rummet* [The Red Room] (Nordmark 1999: 300, 328). Further, women critics in radio and television such as Ulrika Knutson, Eva Beckman, and Gunilla Kindstrand became household names. Despite this, Nordmark is dismissive of television's cultural journalism at the end of the decade.

> As a news medium television is several steps behind its older cousin and it never really developed a space of cultural criticism to rival that of radio. Television's cultural coverage has been dominated by reportage representing signs of the times, rather than the latest news, more by consumer guidance and market orientation, than reflection and reviews. (1999: 330)

In 2000, the cultural division at SVT wanted to change this, and took advantage of the third major re-organisation to advance their position. The new mandate was to strengthen the critical journalistic edge in all cultural programming and to internationalize the cultural offerings more.[14] Thus, *Kulturnyheterna* [Cultural News] as a separate division within the culture department was started. Among the omnibus

cultural programmes that started then, some long-runners are the internationally renowned magazine *Kobra* (2001-), *K-special* (2002-) and *Sverige!* (2005-). These were in addition to the arts-specific, steady features of the SVT cultural magazine diet since the 1960s. *K-special* is focused on cultural documentaries, both foreign and domestic, and is tasked with financing and co-financing independent cultural production as well as investigative cultural journalism (Sveriges Television AB 2015: 32). The SVT mandate now includes producing, reflecting and scrutinizing the diversity of Swedish and global culture.

Thus, despite lacking SR's focus on arts criticism, SVT expanded and developed its cultural journalism in the 2000s. Cultural journalism has now come to be considered a strength of the PSB media in a digitalised media landscape. One of most important ongoing debates about the public service organisations in the 1990s and 2000s is about its entertainment offering. Commercial media companies have increasingly high-pitched complaints that the PSBs skew the market by offering similar fare, whereas PSB defendents criticize SVT for moving too much towards popular culture.

The threats and promises of digitalisation

As a result of their respective histories and media specificities, the press, radio and television developed complimentary cultural journalisms: the press expressing grand ideas and opinion and dispensing criticism, and the PSB broadcasters more monitoring, arraying and expressing them. Radio has a stronger tradition of cultural criticism than television and provides more debate fodder, but it cannot, according to regulation, push ideological agendas. SVT was more concerned with the visual aspects of presenting culture as "signs of the times", but developed its scrunizing and monitoring "factual" programming including more popular cultural areas in the 2000s.

In 1994, *Aftonbladet's* monthly Culture supplement was the first section of any Swedish newspaper to go online. Today, however, cultural editors of the press worry about the effects of digitalisation, specifically regarding how its core genre cultural criticism will fare in the age of digital critics, and about whether the quality of cultural debate will remain high when entertainment journalism gains ground (Hemer & Forsare 2010, Sarrimo 2016). The perception of threat is related to the ongoing crisis of the journalistic business model resulting in losses of hundreds of jobs. This has prompted debates about the closure or reduced autonomy of cultural desks in local and regional newpapers around the country. Editors fear that Swedish cultural journalism, as it has developed since the 1960s, will be unable to maintain its position in public debate if newspapers were exclusively online (Riegert et al. 2015: 11). Others, such as Rakel Chukri (2010: 105), argue that such approaches unnecessarily "accentuated the boundaries against the digital/…/why would the existence of cultural texts via sms preclude classic cultural critique?". In contrast to the press, the PSBs have a steady cadre of cultural journalists, and SVT produces more cultural news

and magazine programmes than before 2000. Until now, the press and PSBs have not seen themselves as cultural journalism competitors, but diminishing resources of the press and increasing complaints against the pubic service media may change that.[15]

Swedish cultural journalism is seen by both press and PSB producers as providing alternative, more reflective understandings of society compared to news. It is *not* the arts or the topic that defines cultural journalism, but the way *a topic is approached*, and *who is approaching it* (Riegert et al. 2015, cf., Kristensen & From 2011). Cultural journalism is still about "asking the right questions" as Olof Lagercrantz put it in the 1950s. It still carries narratives about the cultural *and societal* contexts of its time, as Widestedt (2001) concluded. Reminscent of the 1960s, it still reflects more particularly the cultural and political debates of the contemporary era, as illustrated by cultural debates about race, ethnicity and Swedishness in the 2010s. In fact such debates have been among the most read articles in *DN* online and have thereby contradicted some of the fears of digitalisation expressed by press editors (Riegert et al. 2015).

Notes

1. Quotes from Swedish language sources are translated by the authors.
2. Nilsson (1975) however covers cultural journalism in urban area newspapers until the beginning of the 1970s.
3. Elam (2010: 18) dates it to 1920.
4. Which can appear on other pages than cultural pages.
5. See Nilsson (1974: 141-42) on global oulooks in Swedish newspapers more generally during this time.
6. In some morning newspapers, books/children's books were discussed outside of the culture section. Between 20-30 percent of literary texts appeared outside the cultural pages in the morning papers of the 1960s. (Nilsson, 1974:76).
7. Results from Rydén (1987) were integrated in the historical account (above) and will not be detailed here.
8. Holmqvist started his career at *Åbo Underrättelser*, Finland (1946), and subsequently worked in Sweden mainly at DN, around three decades from 1955.
9. The niche channel Kunskapskanalen founded in 2004 [The Knowledge channel], shared by SVT and UR, offers in-depth historical, scientific and cultural content.
10. The arts program *Beckerell* on the pioneering cable channel ZTV in the early 1990s, or the narrowcast cable channel Axess TV. Commercial radio has focused on popular music.
11. For a list, see. http://webbshop.ur.se/stiftelsen-etermedierna-i-sverige.
12 According to Nordmark (1999: 203-205), a similar radio programme from the same year, *Horizont,* introduced the literary scholar Lars Ulvenstam who later led the "ground-breaking" and "controversial" broad cultural debate programmes *Studio 65*, *Studio 66* and *Stor Forum* on television. (Djerf-Pierre & Weibull 2001: 254)
13. P2 does mainly classical and older music forms, whereas P1 is "talk radio" offering news and current affairs, cultural and science programmes, theatre and documentaries, existential and lifestyle programmes. While cultural journalism can also be found on the other radio channels, it is more concentrated at P1. P1 garners around 18 per cent of the Swedish population on a daily basis (a relatively 'old audience'). It has increased its reach over the last 15 years or so, while radio listening has declined during the same period (*Nordicom-Sveriges Mediebarometer 2014*).
14. Personal interview (February 14, 2014), Kristina Lindström, Head of the Culture Department 2000-2010.
15. In 2015, a "Public Service Commission" was created by large Swedish media houses, to investigate the extent to which the PSB's "skew" the market to the detriment of commercial media.

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II. Comparative Case Studies

6.

What Is Cultural News Good For?

Finnish, Norwegian, and Swedish cultural journalism in public service organisations

Heikki Hellman[1], Leif Ove Larsen, Kristina Riegert, Andreas Widholm & Silje Nygaard

Abstract

This chapter compares how Nordic public service media institutions (Finland: YLE; Norway: NRK; Sweden: SVT/SR) define and interpret their remits regarding cultural news. Relying on policy documents, interviews with managing cultural news editors and a sample week's broadcast and online cultural news output, the results show distinctive national differences in the ways cultural news is conceived, the resources and organisation of the cultural news desks, and differences in news content during the week studied. The countries are most similar in their broad popular culture offering, and by that fact that all the companies provide broader cultural news coverage on their websites than in their broadcast versions. However, the distinctions between the online and offline platforms are less clear than those between the three countries. So, despite the commonalities of the Nordic media model, the values and practices of cultural journalism show enough differences to warrant further study.

Keywords: Nordic media model, cultural news, public service broadcasting, cultural journalism, online cultural news

It has been claimed that while there is "a striking variety as to funding, content and market prominence" among European public broadcasters (Thomass, Moe & D'Haenens 2015: 184), the Nordic countries remain "the stronghold of the public service tradition" (Syvertsen et al. 2014: 71). The strong position and popularity of state-owned and public service broadcasting institutions (PSBs) is one of the key qualities of the Northern European democratic corporatist media system (Hallin & Mancini 2004, Strömbäck, Ørsten & Aalberg 2008) or the Nordic media model (Syvertsen et al. 2014, Lund & Berg 2009). Another common feature is the broad readership of newspapers, which has guaranteed a strong omnibus press with diverse content (Syvertsen et al. 2014), including comprehensive cultural coverage (Jaakkola 2015b, 1993; Kristensen & From 2011, Larsen 2008).

However, the media systems, as classified by Hallin and Mancini (2004), are not internally homogenous. The obvious similarities, explained by social, cultural, and

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political parallels, often blind us to the differences within the media systems, reflecting the subtle distinctions in social, cultural, and political development. For example, although the Nordic countries share a highly-professionalised journalism culture (Ahva et al. 2016), journalistic standards and practices and news values between countries may differ noticeably (Hanitzsch et al. 2011). Thus, although they may have generously funded PSBs, highlighting their status as major national news providers, these institutions may be organised very differently and promote distinct journalistic values and work practices. Similarly, there appears to be different emphases and orientations across the countries. For example, cultural journalism studies in Denmark and Finland demonstrate a blurring of boundaries between cultural and lifestyle journalism, with service-oriented coverage of the cultural and artistic sphere increasing (Jaakkola 2015b, Kristensen & From 2011) and there is evidence that in Sweden cultural journalism is more societally oriented and appears to include a broader set of potential topics such as political and societal ideas and events interpreted through a 'cultural filter' (Riegert, Roosvall & Widholm 2015: 781).

This chapter compares how journalists in the public service institutions of three Nordic countries – YLE in Finland, NRK in Norway, and SVT and SR in Sweden – define and interpret the cultural dimension of their public service obligations when it comes to cultural news. We focus on newscasts only, i.e. cultural journalism in specific cultural news bulletins or news included in the general newscasts. Excluded here is the extensive general cultural programming like literature programmes, cultural documentaries, and magazines. We contextualise the breadth and focus of their news coverage by briefly describing the institutionalisation of cultural news in each company, as well as examining how cultural news editors conceive of their respective purposes. Since the organisations analysed have applied a broad cross-media strategy, we also address the question of what kind of news content they produce on their websites and how online news differs from their broadcast news provisions. To facilitate the national and platform comparison, the chapter analyses a sample week of cultural news content and utilises interviews, all of which will be related to policy and organisational contexts.

Earlier comparisons of Nordic PSB's have focused on legitimacy and regulation (see Larsen 2014, Moe & Mjøs 2013), funding (see Engblom 2013) or media markets (see Lund & Berg 2009, Ohlsson 2015), whereas their broadcast contents have been compared at a very general level only (see Hujanen, Weibull & Harrie 2013, Lund & Berg 2009). The slim tradition of cultural journalism studies, then, has two limitations. First, almost all studies are nationally oriented, thus representing ethnocentrically formed concepts of culture (for exceptions, see Janssen, Verboord & Kuipers 2011; Lund 2005). Second, research has mainly concentrated on newspapers (see Jaakkola 2015b, Janssen 1999, Janssen, Verboord & Kuipers 2011, Kristensen 2010, Larsen 2008), whereas broadcast cultural journalism has been paid scant scholarly attention (see Honkavaara 2001, Miikkulainen 2009, Vik 2008). Thus, by combining the perspectives of cultural journalism studies and studies on public service broadcasting, we make the first effort to investigate the cultural news offerings of the four Nordic PSBs from

a comparative perspective. Bridging the gap between these two perspectives hopefully casts light on both the differences between the public broadcasting institutions and the differences in nationally rooted interpretations of cultural journalism, thus enabling a more elaborate understanding of the Nordic media model.

Public broadcasters and cultural news in Finland, Norway, and Sweden

Culture is a contested concept in cultural journalism (see Kristensen & From 2011) – and so it is in the provision of PSBs. Typically, PSBs have a general obligation to produce, create, develop, and maintain culture and art as well as catering for minority cultures. This obligation is documented in European regulation, national legislation, public service agreements, as well as in various company-level statements. Despite this strong normative expectation to provide for democratic, social, and cultural needs that are not met by the market, the regulation concerning their cultural obligations is not necessarily very specific. Some of the institutions make detailed statements about their cultural strategy while others are more laconic (Moe & Mjøs 2013, Ohlsson 2015, Syvertsen et al. 2014). General cultural obligations urge the PSBs to provide some form of news in the guise of topical coverage of the cultural field and the arts. Without going into detail about the public service cultural provisions in each country, this section presents the four public broadcasters and describes how cultural news is organised and scheduled by them.

Even at the organisational and regulatory level, the analysed PSBs show distinct differences. The companies are solely owned by the state and publicly funded. However, whereas the traditional licence fee has survived in Norway and Sweden, Finland switched to a wholly tax-based system in 2013. Organisationally, Finland and Norway have addressed the public service obligations through one firm, whereas Sweden has allocated different services to no less than three companies. The PSBs are responsible, with slightly divergent wordings, for the provision of versatile and comprehensive television and radio programming and online offerings for all citizens under equal conditions, with special measures required to reach the functionally challenged and minority populations. They are expected to support democracy as well as to produce, create, and develop culture and art in their respective countries. However, regulations and obligations tend to be more detailed in Sweden and Norway than in Finland. The organisations also differ in the way they are administered and supervised (Lund & Berg 2009, Moe & Mjøs 2013, Ohlsson 2015, Syvertsen et al. 2014).

Finland's national broadcaster *Yleisradio* (YLE) operates four television channels and six radio channels, complemented by extensive online services available at yle.fi. In addition to national programming, the company provides over 20 regional radio stations and regional news from eight districts. In television, YLE's channels accomplished a 43 per cent share of viewing in 2015, while in radio its share reached the 50

per cent landmark. YLE TV1 and YLE Radio Suomi are the most popular television and radio channels in Finland, with shares of 26 and 34 per cent respectively. The YLE website, reaching 34 per cent of the population weekly, is one of the most popular in Finland (YLE 2016a).

Over the last few years, and despite its strategy to make culture "available to all Finns, including people who do not have the possibility to participate in events" (YLE 2016b), YLE has narrowed its topical cultural offerings. In the 1990s, the company first increased the number of cultural items in news bulletins (Honkavaara 2001), and in 2001 it introduced a special newscast *Kulttuuriuutiset*, scheduling it late at night on TV1 and in the prime time of the digital YLE24 channel. Since YLE24 was suspended in 2007, the daily five-minute cultural news provision was scheduled as part of the 6:00 p.m. newscast on TV1 (Miikkulainen 2009). A similar five-minute special newscast was scheduled on YLE Radio 1. However, by the end of 2011 these thematic news bulletins were cancelled, and cultural issues are now routinely merged with the general news both in radio and television. The YLE TV1 6:00 p.m. newscast allocates cultural items a regular five-minute slot, representing a similar extension allotted to business and sports news and produced by the YLE news and current affairs division. The lack of specialised cultural news bulletins is partly compensated for by two culturally oriented current affairs magazines – *Kultakuume* (Gold fever) broadcast on weekdays on YLE Radio 1 and *KulttuuriCocktail* on Wednesdays on YLE Radio Puhe and on TV2. However, these programmes don't provide news issues.

Norway's *Norsk Rikskringkasting* (NRK) consists of three national TV channels, 14 national radio channels and the website nrk.no (NRK 2016a). NRK1 is Norway's biggest TV channel with a market share of 31 per cent in 2015. The total market share of NRK's television channels is 41 per cent and radio channels 64 per cent, and as with the YLE website in Finland, the NRK website is among the most popular in Norway (NRK 2016b).

NRK's recent annual report stresses the ambition to reach a larger audience and to increase the audience's interest in culture, saying that the company wants to treat "broad culture with curiosity and narrower culture with openness" (NRK 2016b). In NRK's organisation, similar to YLE, the production of cultural news is subordinated to the news division of NRK. The editorial unit for culture and debate is located in the Department of Magazines and Debate and also includes a desk for digital debate. The culture and debate unit has five journalists and produces cultural news primarily for nrk.no, but also for the other NRK platforms including *Kulturnytt,* the main news programme for culture on radio, on air since 1993 and broadcast every ordinary weekday at 8:03-8:30 a.m. on NRK P2. In 2004-2009, *Kulturnytt* was also broadcast on TV, but was shelved and cultural news was integrated into the evening main news programme *Dagsrevyen* at 7:00 and 9:00 p.m. on NRK1, with cultural items being typically placed at the end of the newscast.

The Swedish public service group is organised as three separate companies under the umbrella of a public foundation. The educationally oriented *Utbildningsradion*

(UR) is not discussed here. Our focus is on *Sveriges Radio* (SR) and *Sveriges Television* (SVT), which retain significant audience shares despite increasing challenges by commercial media conglomerates. SR maintains a 76 per cent audience share, whereas the two national channels, SVT1 and SVT2, have together a 36 per cent audience share. SR has four national and 28 local channels with six web/digital channels, whereas SVT has seven national digital terrestrial channels and SVT World (SR 2016, SVT 2016b).

In Sweden, both SVT and SR emphasise what is called their cultural duty to "monitor, mirror and critically scrutinise various […] types of cultural events in Sweden and in other countries […] and to provide programming from different cultural arenas and parts of the world" (SVT 2016a: 31, SR 2015: 63). In SVT, this is done through news, magazine programs, cultural profiles, live event coverage, debates, and documentaries. Cultural news is broadcast five days a week (Monday to Friday) in the form of specialised cultural news programmes produced by the cultural desks. On television, *Kulturnyheterna* is easily identified by a purple-coloured backdrop shown for the duration of the 8- to 13-minute news bulletins presented by a specific cultural news anchor following the 6:00 p.m. and 9:00 p.m. *Aktuellt* news programmes. A similar pattern can be seen in SR, where cultural news is presented in a specific cultural news program, *Kulturnytt*, broadcast nine times a day Monday to Friday, and in a short version on Saturdays. These specialised programme structures secure the status of cultural journalism in the broader news flow and the editorial independence of the cultural desks. The partition between general news and cultural news is even more clearly accentuated in SR where cultural topics are almost exclusively reserved for the cultural news programmes, providing more critics and many more minutes of cultural journalism a week than SVT. SR's cultural desk produces news for three different stations, P1, P2, and P4, whereas SVT utilises a more open strategy, reflected for example in the output of Sweden's largest television news programme *Rapport* at 7:30 p.m. on SVT1, which sometimes, yet not systematically, draws on news produced by the cultural desk (see Roosvall & Widholm 2016). SR's *Kulturnytt* was launched in 1980, whereas SVT's *Kulturnyheterna* started in 2000, so the former has a longer tradition of cultural news. In fact, SVT did not have a separate cultural news department, permanent cultural reporters, or daily mandate to cover cultural issues before that.

The inspection above indicates that the way cultural news is organised offers different solutions. While both SR and SVT have specialised news bulletins for cultural issues, NRK has substituted general newscasts for specialised ones in television, whereas YLE has renounced special cultural news bulletins in both radio and television. Differences can be detected in resources too. The cultural news desk at NRK, working directly for *Kulturnytt* on radio, but producing cultural news for all NRK platforms, consists of only five journalists, and the cultural desk at the YLE newsroom has nine journalists. The cultural desk at SR alone includes around 35 full-time journalists, with half of them working directly for *Kulturnytt* and some working also in Gothenburg, Malmö, Umeå, and Jönköping. SVT's cultural desk employs 25 journalists, with four

working exclusively on the web and another four as photographers/web editors. That said, most of the journalists work on both the web and broadcasting bulletins. Recently, the web hired two new specialist reporters in 2016: an entertainment reporter and a media industry reporter. This comparison indicates that SR and SVT are far better resourced than their Finnish and Norwegian sister companies.

The company level choices in allocating resources to cultural news are expected to result in differences in the volume and breadth of news coverage, although both NRK and YLE compensate for their small cultural newsroom size by using contributions of other news departments, including regional branches and foreign correspondents, but processed by the cultural newsdesk.

Comparing cultural journalisms: data and analysis

In order to investigate the degree to which the concept and content of cultural journalism, as interpreted by the established Nordic public service broadcasters, coincide and whether they are similar or distinct across national boundaries, we carried out a small-scale comparative study of their news supply and complemented it by interviewing the cultural editors of the four institutions analysed. We pose three research questions:

- How do culture editors in the Nordic public service institutions define and justify their cultural news provision?
- Do the Nordic public service media institutions differ from each other in their cultural news supply?
- Does broadcast cultural news supply differ from online news supply?

In order to reply to the first research question, we interviewed the cultural editors of the four public service institutions.[2] A semi-structured thematic interview focused on the definition of culture applied by each newsroom, the organisation of the culture desk, the perceptions of the interviewees on the use of journalistic genres and foreign news material, the choice of platform, and the relationship with the audience. The interviews were 60 to 90 minutes long and were taped, but only selectively transcribed. In a case study like this, interviews were treated as testimonies of the public service news practices, i.e. as "more or less honest, objective and accurate description of the aspect of reality the researcher is studying", similar to the "way we conceive of a testimony in court" (Alasuutari 1995: 51).

In order to reply to the last two research questions, we sampled the cultural news output from one random week (week 47, 16-22 November 2015) on three different platforms – radio, television, and the web. The sampled broadcast newscasts represented the major cultural news bulletins or, if no specialised news programmes were provided, the main prime time news programmes both in radio and television. As to the analysis of online offerings, we focused on the cultural news sites of the companies

only. This means that we deliberately excluded the various online sites of culturally oriented programmes broadcast by the PSBs. The analysed newscasts and news sites are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Sampled public service newscasts and news sites (week 47, 2015)

Country	PS institution	Platform	Newscast	Duration	News site
Finland	YLE	Radio, Yle Radio 1, Yle Radio, Suomi	5:00 p.m.	20 minutes, cultural news included	..
		Television, TV1	6:00 p.m.	30 minutes, cultural news included	..
		Television, TV1	8:30 p.m.	25 minutes, cultural news included	..
		Online	..	..	yle.fi/uutiset/kulttuuri
Norway	NRK	Radio, NRK P2	8.03 a.m.	27 minutes	..
		Television, NRK1	7:00 p.m.	45 minutes, cultural news included	..
		Television, NRK1	9:00 p.m.	10 minutes, cultural news included	..
		Online	..	..	nrk.no/kultur
Sweden	SR	Radio	1:05 p.m.	13 minutes	..
		Online	[9:00 a.m.]*	..	sverigesradio.se/kultur
	SVT	Television, SVT2	approx. 6:13 p.m.	13 minutes	
		Online	[9:00 a.m.]*	..	svt.se/kultur

* For Sweden, the online platform was downloaded at 9 am each morning.

In order to identify differences between broadcasters and platforms, the items were analysed in terms of the following variables: length, genre, topic, actors, geographical region, geographical site, and the geographical relations of each news item. Previous studies on Swedish cultural journalism (Riegert, Roosvall & Widholm 2015, Roosvall & Riegert 2017, in this volume) indicate that journalists in Sweden have a particularly broad definition of culture that is not limited to aesthetic fields, but can bring in any topic and analyse it through its cultural implications. In order to find out whether

broader societal issues are covered from a cultural perspective, we also coded for whether the news content included discussions of aspects of the following societal values and norms: gender and sexuality, racism and ethnicity, class and economic inequality, religion, and democracy and freedom of expression.[3]

The week that was chosen for empirical analysis was expected to be a random week. However, it turned out that on Friday November 13th, three days before the start of the empirical study, one of the worst terror attacks in France since the Second World War took place, with coordinated suicide bombings and mass shootings in cafés, restaurants, a music venue, and a football stadium in Paris. Altogether 130 people died and many hundreds were injured. The attacks took place on what were referred to in the media as soft targets, or cultural targets, and can be put into the context of the terrorist attacks on the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* in Paris and a cultural centre in Copenhagen earlier the same year (see Kristensen & Roosvall 2017, in this volume). Even though this means that the chosen week does not fully represent everyday cultural journalism, the attacks provide a further opportunity to assess the extent to which cultural news negotiates with or includes these types of hard political news in their offering.

The content analysis included 469 items in total, of which 151 were broadcast news items (83 on radio and 68 on television) and 318 were online news articles. Among the analysed items, 113 were from Finland, 173 from Norway, and 183 from Sweden (Figure 1).

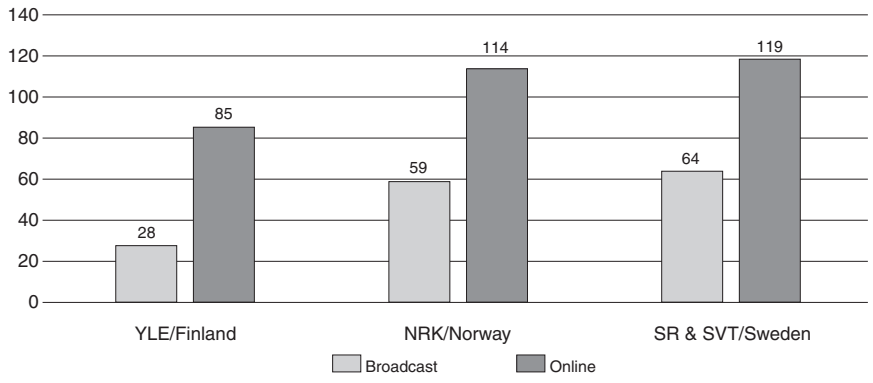

Figure 1. Number of cultural news items published (week 47, 2015)

Since our analysis builds on one week's sample only, the results should be interpreted with prudence when it comes to their generalisability. No statistical testing was applied. The chosen method provides a cross-section depicting the state of the art of public service cultural news in the winter of 2015-2016 in the three Nordic countries. This overall picture will be compared to recent Nordic research on the historical and contextual developments of cultural news provision. These trends include increasing managerial control of cultural news desks (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Kristensen &

From 2011), increasing popularisation of cultural news content (Jaakkola 2015a, Kristensen 2010, Larsen 2008), increasing dominance of journalistic logic over the aesthetic in the general framework of cultural journalism (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Hovden & Knapskog 2015, Jaakkola 2015b), and related to this, a decreasing specialisation of cultural journalists (Hovden & Knapskog 2015, Jaakkola et al. 2015).

The chapter proceeds in accordance with the research questions as follows. First, we focus on the cultural news provisions of the four institutions, as defined by the culture editors. Second, we analyse the similarities and differences in the cultural news coverage in the three countries analysed. Third, we make an excursion into how the PSBs address major societal and political issues and in particular how they reacted to the terror attacks in Paris in their cultural news output, thus elaborating the political and international dimension of cultural journalism. Finally, we compare broadcast and online news coverage and discuss whether cultural journalism on different platforms shows media specific characteristics.

The concept of cultural news according to the editors

As demonstrated by earlier chapters in this book and several studies in European countries (e.g. Jaakkola 2013, Janssen 1999, Janssen et al. 2011, Kristensen & From 2011, Larsen 2008, Lund 2005, Reus & Harden 2005), cultural journalism, particularly in newspapers, has gone through major changes during the last decades. First, the space devoted to arts and culture expanded up until the early 2000s, indicating an increased demand on both soft and interpretative journalism, which addressed the increasingly individualised interests of a fragmenting audience (Knapskog, Iversen & Larsen 2016, Plasser 2005). Second, the concept of culture has become broader and more inclusive, expressing divergence from the earlier high culture dominated coverage, which was exclusive by nature and served the function of categorising artistic products. Another dimension of the broadening of cultural journalism is its 'journalistification' (Jaakkola 2015b: 62) – meaning its convergence towards other beats of journalism – as expressed by the increasing coverage of political issues and the tendency to find hard news in the field of culture.

Although public broadcasters have a specific cultural mission they, like newspapers, aim to address the broadest possible audience, which can be expected to result in an increasingly comprehensive concept of culture and a broad employment of journalistic genres. In this section, the concept of culture, the degree of specialisation, and newsroom practices, as applied in the Nordic public broadcasting institutions, are discussed on the basis of interviews with culture editors.

Although there are differences in how culture is defined in each news organisation, all four PSBs appear to understand culture broadly. In addition to arts, culture in all four public broadcasting institutions covers a wide range of cultural and, in particular, lifestyle phenomena, including media industry news, games, fashion, food culture,

interior design, and urban phenomena. While the channels manager of NRK P2, Ole Jan Larsen (2016), stressed that cultural journalists should report events across the whole spectrum of their field, he also underlined that cultural journalism should not be limited to quality discussions of cultural products. Instead, it should make cultural content relevant and available to those parts of society that are not deeply embedded within the cultural sphere. According to the interviews, this view appears to be shared by all four broadcasters.

However, unlike the culture editor of YLE, the editors at NRK, SR, and SVT explicitly highlighted broader social and political issues to which culture and the arts refer. According to Katarina Svanevik, the head of *Kulturnyheterna* at SVT, cultural journalists should find alternative and reflective ways of storytelling, which connect to broader cultural and societal implications. Aside from the traditional cultural subject areas, events that relate to ethical issues and freedom of expression are also important cultural news, according to Svanevik (2016). Similar to SVT, the intersection between cultural and societal issues is at the core of SR's cultural journalism, aimed at providing a "global cultural coverage", contributing new knowledge about "multicultural Sweden" and depicting "burning" societal issues relating to, for example, the migration crisis in Europe and its cultural expressions (SR 2015: 63).

The difference between YLE and other broadcasters suggests that the Finnish institution limits its concept of culture to the interesting phenomena in arts and lifestyle and that, unlike in Sweden, broad political issues and topics are only seldom addressed from the cultural angle. This reflects a general tendency in Finnish cultural journalism (Hellman, Jaakkola & Salokangas 2017, in this volume). Illustratively, YLE's cultural news is situated in a division called *Culture and Phenomena*, NRK's cultural news in the *Culture and Debate* division, and at SVT in the *Culture and Society* division. Accordingly, Hege Duckert (2015), the head of culture at NRK, and Ole Jan Larsen (2016) of NRK P2, both place significant emphasis on cultural journalism's function as an arena for debate and discussion.

Including political and societal issues in cultural news may reflect the need to make them harder, i.e. comparable to general news (Reus & Harden 2005), or to increase the professional legitimacy of cultural coverage. For example, Hanna Thorsen (2016), head of debate and cultural news at NRK, considers cultural journalism a part of the traditional news journalism, complying with the ordinary news criteria, which highlights relevance and significance as central values. According to her, the degree of conflict the news story entails is also regarded as a particularly important criterion in order to attract interest from the public. Katarina Svanevik (2016) noted that, as the newcomer to news, *Kulturnyheterna* needs to demonstrate to political news reporters the importance of culture for diversity and democracy, but also must maintain a critical approach to its aesthetic subject areas. *Kulturnyheterna* does not shy away from entertainment news, but tries to take a critical perspective on the industry – even its mother company SVT's engagement in the Eurovision Song Contest. In Finland, culture appears to be positioned differently. Cultural news is needed in

order to aestheticise the newscast and to upgrade its dramaturgy with hard and soft news balancing each other. As Satu Nurmio (2016), head of cultural news at YLE says, "They want us to provide more than the usual things, we are expected to have higher professional standards in terms of structure, visuality, et cetera. They expect us to do some experimentation too".

Varying approaches to reviewing and specialisation

All interviewed editors tend to consider cultural journalism to be a part of general news journalism, drawing from its methods and repertoire. Although the demarcation line between cultural news and ordinary news can seem unclear, cultural journalism has one generic speciality – the central role of reviews – that is not shared by other beats (Jaakkola 2015b, Janssen 1997, Kristensen & From 2011). However, here the Nordic public broadcasters show distinctions in their newsroom practices. While the use of criticism is argued for by the editors at NRK, SR, and SVT, YLE declares that reviews are not made, whether offline or online. NRK employs literature, film, and music critics, thus wishing to "contribute to the public discourse about cultural content", as Hege Duckert (2015) puts it; whereas, YLE's Satu Nurmio (2016) justified the lack of reviews by noting that, "Reviewing would require a systematic, continuous coverage, which is out of the question with our resources". Compared to the culture pages in major newspapers (see Jaakkola 2015a, Larsen 2008), broadcasters are more selective in their provision of criticism. For example, SVT's *Kulturnyheterna* carefully chooses the acts reviewed in order to serve different fields of arts and different parts of the country equally.

Perhaps explained by the small size of its cultural desk, YLE's reporters are not expected to be experts (see also Honkavaara 2001, Miikkulainen 2009) in the sense that cultural journalists were traditionally specialised representatives of the different fields of the arts (Hovden & Knapskog 2008, Jaakkola 2015b, Kristensen & From 2011). Thus, they represent the more recent trend of journalistic professionalism in which generalist journalistic values dominate (Jaakkola 2015b, Jaakkola et al. 2015). Generalist, mainstream news values guide the NRK news desk too (see also Vik 2008); consequently, reviews are commissioned from in-house cultural journalists of the Cultural Division. In contrast, the journalists at the SR and SVT cultural news represent a higher degree of specialisation, with mandates to cover issues in literature, music, film, media industry, etc. In 2010, SR instituted a position called *cultural correspondent* in order to better cover events in terms of global culture.

The way the news topics are chosen depend on the degree of autonomy of the newscast. If the news bulletin is specialised, like *Kulturnytt* on SR or *Kulturnyheterna* on SVT, it is natural that the cultural desk alone decides on how the daily news flow should be structured and presented. Cultural news aims to scrutinise the field of culture in a general sense in such a way that it helps people make decisions in important cultural

and societal debates. Against that background, Mattias Hermansson (2016), head of culture at SR, sees *Kulturnytt* as the "democratic beacon" of the entire cultural desk.

In Finland, where no specialised cultural news bulletins are provided, the situation is a bit different. The choice of topics is mostly based on the ideas developed in editorial meetings or pitched by the reporters. As there is usually only one cultural item on radio and television main newscasts, the choice is made by the news producers. For example, the culture desk pitches its main news item for the 8:30 p.m. newscast on YLE TV1, whereas the culture editor together with her news producers decide independently the cultural items for the 6:00 p.m. newscast on TV and on the website.

There are also differences in how the Nordic public broadcasters address their cultural news. Most of the items appear to be targeted broadly, i.e. to a general audience. However, while the YLE culture editor highlights human interest and lifestyle topics that potentially attract the viewers of the main national TV newscast, *Kulturnytt* on Norwegian radio is located between an hour of hard news and political debate and a two-hour magazine programme exploring in-depth issues in society and science, thus signalling seriousness and underlining the profile of NRK P2 as an elite audience radio station (Larsen 2004). On television, the cultural news in all three countries is placed after the hard news and before the sport news and the weather forecast, and are thus being ascribed the role of a transition from the serious and important to the mundane.

The latent democratic potential of cultural journalism is strongly emphasised by Hege Duckert of NRK (2015). As cultural experiences are not evenly distributed among different groups of society, the public broadcaster has the ambition of providing access to cultural content for the general public. Due to the need for broad appeal, cultural journalism cannot be exclusively entangled with cultural phenomena per se. This is solved by SR in Sweden by offering differing modes of address. A mix of local and national content, often with a folksy touch, characterises P4, SR's largest channel, whereas P1 is SR's highbrow station and is specifically devoted to news, current affairs, and culture, and P2 is oriented towards classical music. Also, cultural news programmes vary in length as well as orientation and are adapted to fit the specificities of each channel identity and its specific audience preferences. Accordingly, the P4 audience gets short and light cultural news, whilst those listening to P1 are served longer and more complex content.

Our analysis based on the interviews of the cultural editor indicates that the concept of culture applied by Finland's YLE in many ways differs from the concept of the other three Nordic PSBs. First, although all news desks highlight a broad, non-elitist concept of culture, it is SR and SVT that particularly aim to cover social and political issues from a cultural angle, while NRK also wishes to provide its cultural coverage as a forum for general debate. Second, different approaches are mirrored in the choice of genre, with SR, SVT, and NRK providing not only news, but also views genres and even reviews, whereas reviewing is not included in the repertoire of YLE. Third, although all news desks, according to the interviews, share the pressure to provide hard news, it is again YLE that appears to focus on a softer, more human interest oriented

approach, which perhaps echoes an aim to develop cultural journalism as service journalism (Eide & Knight 1999).

Cultural news offering: differences between countries

According to earlier research, a major shift in cultural journalism over the last few decades is the gradual popularisation of content. In newspapers, this has appeared as a decline in classical music and a simultaneous increase in popular music, while other popular forms of art such as film, media, and even computer games have gained more attention on the culture pages (Jaakkola 2015a, 2015b). According to Larsen (2008: 324) however, popular arts have "not displaced the traditional coverage of high culture but rather supplemented it".

As the Nordic PSBs have been given special obligations in the preservation, production, distribution, and promotion of culture it does not come as a surprise that cultural issues have an established position in their newscasts and online news sites. In this section, we concentrate on the differing news orientations between the three countries on the basis of our content analysis.

The findings confirm both the broad approach to culture, as declared by the culture editors, and the popularisation of content. As Figure 2 shows, popular arts – popular music, media, games, and film – represented an average of 50 per cent of the cultural news, constituting the top three fields of coverage in the combined offerings of the four public broadcasters during the week that was analysed. This is somewhat less than Norwegian newspapers (Larsen 2008) but slightly more than Danish and Finnish

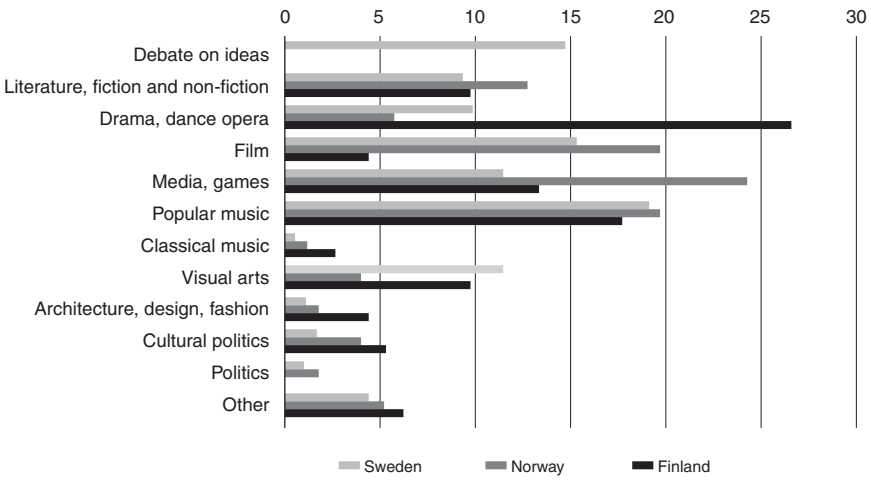

Figure 2. Distribution by topic of public service cultural news in Finland, Norway, and Sweden (per cent)

Note: Number of articles: Sweden 183, Norway 173, Finland 113.

newspapers (Kristensen & From 2011, Jaakkola 2013) were found to devote to popular culture. This suggests that public broadcasters have followed the general popularisation of topics in cultural journalism in their attempts to address a general audience. Often these popular cultural items also include a celebrity aspect. For example, yle.fi published an online article reporting that Hollywood star Charlie Sheen has caught HIV, while SVT's *Kulturnyheterna* had stories during the week about Björk's 50th birthday.

Among the classical high arts, literature thrives the most, accounting for 11 per cent average share of the public broadcasters' cultural output respectively. The scant coverage of classical music perhaps best illustrates the popularly oriented mode of access of public service cultural news. Compared to newspapers, as analysed by Jaakkola (2013, 2015a) and Larsen (2008), even literature appears to suffer in the broadcasters' offerings.

However, there are also differences between the three countries as to which fields of culture they focus upon. For the Swedish public broadcasters, the top three topics are popular music, film, and debates on ideas, whereas for NRK it is media, film, and popular music, and for YLE it is drama, popular music, and media. Sweden is the only country covering debate on ideas, with items published both on broadcast and online platforms. Norway focuses clearly more than the other countries on media and games, whereas Finland devotes significantly more attention to drama than the other two countries. Finland also differs from Sweden and Norway in its scant coverage of film, whereas Norway gives clearly less publicity to visual arts than Finland and Sweden. As discussed below, the majority of cultural news items in our sample are domestic in origin. Consequently, differences may reflect the random offerings of the domestic news scene during the week sampled.

Although almost half of the cultural news content of all the broadcasters analysed can be categorised as news stories or short news, the use of the various journalistic genres also shows differences between the countries. The top three story type categories for the offerings of SR and SVT were news stories, newsflashes, and reviews, whereas NRK's most common genres were news stories, reviews, and feature stories, and YLE's were news stories, newsflashes, and interviews. SR and SVT provide a higher share of short news items, whereas the reporters of YLE do clearly more interviews and launch interviews. Reportage and feature stories are clearly favoured more by NRK and YLE than by SR and SVT. The great proportion of short news in the journalistic repertoire of the Swedish broadcasters is reflected by the fact that they offer the greatest number of items altogether, perhaps explained also by the existence of two different news organisations. On the other hand, NRK lagged only slightly behind the Swedish broadcasters in the number of items, while on average it provided the longest broadcast news items.

Comparing the use of genres by broadcasters to the generic repertoire of the cultural pages in newspapers is not necessarily worthwhile, since broadcast and newspaper journalism employ different, media specific forms of presentation. However, research has applied categories that are largely applicable to both media. For example, the

review has generally been considered a "constituent and profiling genre" of cultural journalism (Kristensen & From 2011: 159), and in Nordic newspapers reviews have typically been devoted a share that fluctuates between 10 and 30 per cent (Jaakkola 2015a, Kristensen 2010, Larsen 2008, Lund 2005). In NRK's offerings, reviews took a 17 per cent share and in the combined offerings of SR and SVT, a 15 per cent share. As already confirmed through interviews, YLE has resigned from reviews completely, whereas the Finnish newspapers tend to devote a larger share of their cultural output to criticism than the Scandinavian press.

In conclusion, the Nordic PSBs showed both similarities and differences in terms of topics and genres. Popular arts or media and cultural industries dominated the coverage of all newsrooms, but most visibly at NRK. YLE gave most attention to the traditional high arts. NRK and YLE preferred soft news genres, i.e. reportage and feature, whereas SR and SVT were more topical and published a lot of short news. The results suggest that PSB cultural news in the Nordic countries provide a somewhat different news agenda with different emphases than the press in the respective countries.

Excursion: Cultural news in the globalised world

Previous studies (see Roosvall & Riegert 2017, in this volume) have indicated that cultural journalism in Sweden has a particularly broad definition of culture and aims at addressing general news topics from a cultural angle. Similarly, our interviews indicated that culture editors highlighted the role of cultural journalism as a provider of alternative, reflective views on current events in comparison to those provided by mainstream news bulletins.

The studied period was marked by the terror attacks in Paris that took place some days prior to our sampled week. Due to differences in the definition of culture as well as in the traditions of cultural journalism practices, the extent to which the attacks affected the news coverage differed between the Nordic countries, with Swedish PSBs standing out from their Finnish and Norwegian companions.

As shown in Figure 3, the geographical scope of the Swedish coverage was much broader than the coverage in Norway and in Finland in particular. While one-third of the cultural news provided by the Swedish broadcasters had their focus outside Sweden, the figure for Finland was one-twentieth. Aside from the European character of the Paris attacks, this international orientation reflects the Swedish PSB's mission to cover culture outside Sweden as well as Swedish cultural journalism's broad interest in political and societal issues.

How cultural news reacts to a dramatic event, such as the attacks in Paris, may depend on the degree of autonomy of the cultural newscast. In principle, if there is an independent, separate news bulletin, such as *Kulturnytt* in NRK and SR or *Kulturnyheter* in SVT, there are liberties and space provided for applying a cultural approach to world events. In Finland, where cultural news is included in general newscasts, the

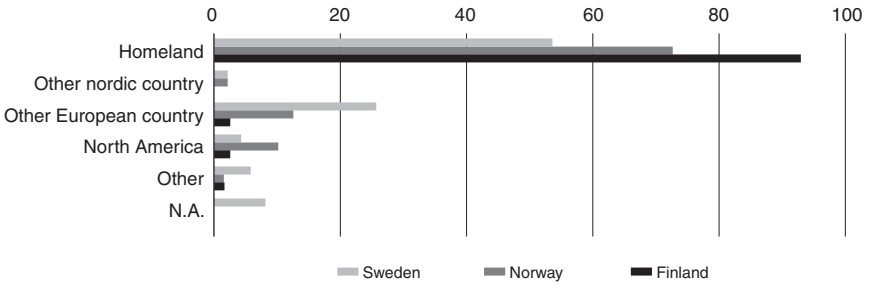

Figure 3. Distribution of the geographical set of public service cultural news in Finland, Norway, and Sweden (per cent)

Note: Number of articles: Sweden 183, Norway 173, Finland 113.

attacks were not covered as a cultural item at all. On the contrary, hard news appeared to substitute for cultural offerings during the week and there were less cultural items broadcast than usual. Due to the cultural news traditions of avoiding political issues, YLE left the analysis of the Paris events completely to hard news specialists.

As noted above, the Swedish PSBs devoted more news items to topical debate and ideas than the other countries. Although this is first and foremost due to the radio coverage, which had a stronger focus on the political and ethical implications of the Paris attacks than SVT, the online material for both SR and SVT echoes the broadcast attention to this topic. This should also be related to what we deemed to address norms and values – issues of gender, sexuality, ethnicity, class, democracy and freedom of expression, and religion – in the news coverage. As shown in Figure 4, norms and values were problematised in as much as 49 per cent of the cultural coverage of the Swedish broadcasters, whereas only 10 per cent of the Finnish and 13 per cent of the Norwegian cultural news addressed these issues. Given the spe-

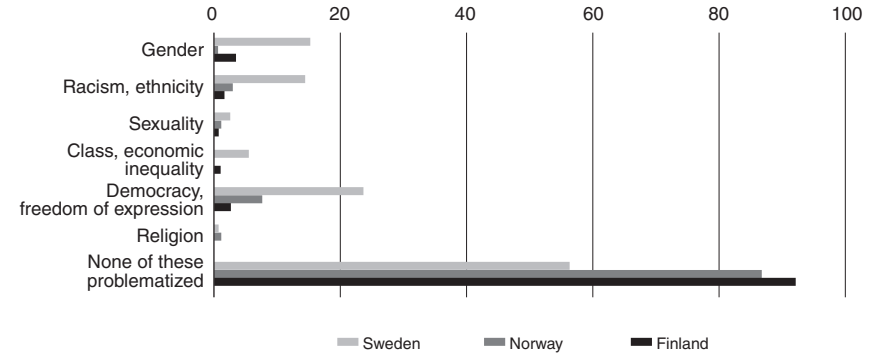

Figure 4. Problematisation of values and norms in public service cultural news in Finland, Norway, and Sweden (per cent)

Note: Number of articles: Sweden 183, Norway 173, Finland 113.

cific situation after the terror attacks, it was democracy and freedom of speech that received most of the attention in Sweden, but the online news also put particular emphasis upon aspects such as gender and ethnicity/racism. In this context, a noteworthy result is that the problematisation of religion was almost non-existent in the coverage in all countries.

Cultural news offerings: differences between platforms

Although European and national legislation often restrict the online activities of the public broadcasters (Donders & Moe 2011), Nordic PSBs have all been allowed a strong presence on the Internet, and they use online options in order to enhance their traditional broadcast services (Syvertsen et al. 2014). In addition to the provision of programming either via live streaming or as a catch-up service, YLE, NRK, SR, and SVT all provide a broad service of news on the web, including cultural news. Against this background, the following section focuses upon potential differences between offline and online platforms when it comes to the news topics and genres of cultural journalism.

As expected, the number of news items provided on the website is greater than the number of broadcast items. In Norway and Sweden, the broadcasters offered approximately twice as many topics online than offline. In Finland, the number of online items was triple the number of broadcast items. Digitalisation, convergence, and growing mobility have dissolved many technology-specific boundaries across the whole media sector, and Nordic public broadcasters appear to apply slightly differing strategies. For example, while YLE in Finland clearly prefers providing its news first and foremost online and has developed a lot of online-only news material such as portraits and features, SR and SVT in Sweden utilise a broader multi-platform strategy, and the news is produced simultaneously for online and offline consumption. Although neither of the two produce large amounts of online-specific news, content may appear online first since websites offer more flexibility compared to traditional scheduled broadcasts.

Typical of all broadcasters was that they publish content on multiple platforms, including online and specifically targeted radio stations. A growing challenge is to reach the younger digital consumers who prefer the more open features of online and social media platforms rather than traditional broadcasts in radio or television. A central feature of online platforms is that they combine traditional formats (e.g. the provision of entire newscasts) and text based formats including images, video, or sound. However, when it comes to news topics there are no signs of a growing online specificity in cultural news. As shown in Figure 5, differences between offline and online platforms are moderate or even non-existent. Small differences can be discerned in the coverage of literature, which gets slightly more attention online than offline. An opposite distribution can be seen for visual arts, perhaps explained by the fact that

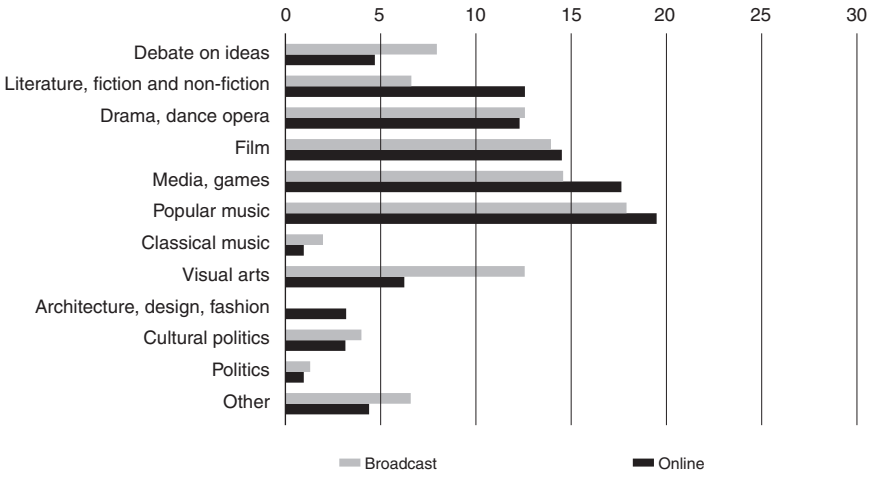

Figure 5. Distribution by topic of public service broadcast and online cultural news in Finland, Norway, and Sweden (per cent)

Note: Numbers of distributions: Broadcast 151, Online 318.

visual arts fit particularly well with the visual representational logics of television. Debates on ideas appeared mainly in the Swedish news, but it is clear that this topic gets a larger proportion of the news offline than online.

As for the journalistic genres used, news stories are clearly characteristic of the online platform (36 per cent of the stories provided), whereas feature/reportage is the most common genre in broadcast (21 per cent). Short newsflashes are also more typical of offline rather than online platforms. These figures are, in fact, partly surprising. One could expect that unlimited space online would allow for a more varied generic output including short news, interviews, and feature stories. Pure interviews are relatively scarce, yet more common online than offline. Due to the need for visual dramaturgy, SVT, for example, has subsumed the interviews into its news items and critic's reviews and in the coverage of cultural events.

One would expect that the online environment is perfectly suited to commentary and analysis, either in print or video format. However, in our sample commentaries were far more common offline than on the web. On the other hand, a great majority of the reviews published by NRK were only published online. Although SR and SVT published approximately as many reviews offline as they did online, in relative terms the review holds the strongest position in the radio broadcasts.

Interestingly, in some cases it is radio that provides the best place for in-depth cultural journalism. This is true, for example, with NRK's *Kulturnytt*, which does include a news bulletin, but the major part of the programme consists typically of a few longer stories on topical issues and reviews. This, of course, is made possible by the fact that the programme has a separate slot in the schedule and sufficient airtime.

In Finland, then, it is the web that is most commonly used for in-depth coverage of selected topics. On television, both in Norway and Finland, where cultural news has been integrated into the general news output, a cultural item is typically a piece of a feature covering a cultural event in some length.

A recent content analysis of NRK's news provision, conducted in 2013, found culture as the overall largest category on the nrk.no front page. This is because one-third of the cultural content in 2013 consisted of self-promotional content such as teasers promoting future broadcast programming and Web-TV content produced by the organisation. This increase in self-promotional content suggests that NRK online is moving towards a more pronounced broadcasting identity, and that they are consolidating their position as a significant supplier of cultural content (Sjøvaag, Stavelin & Moe 2016). In this study, we were not able to focus on tracing similar developments in Finland and Sweden. However, a recent study of the news provision on the front page of SR's website in 2012 showed that culture was a relatively marginal news topic, with a share of around six per cent of all published items (Widholm 2016).

In sum, our results show no dramatic differences between offline and online platforms, although the web clearly opens up a broader repertoire in terms of quantity. This can partly be related to ongoing debates around the role of PSBs in general, and whether they should be allowed to produce online-specific journalism besides traditional broadcasting. In all Nordic countries, concerns are constantly raised by media industry players that multiple platform content production among the PSB actors worsens the economic conditions for the printed press and distorts market competition (Nord 2012). Despite the fact that cultural editors working in public service organisations have been shown to have more positive views regarding digitalisation and convergence compared to press editors (Riegert, Roosvall & Widholm 2015), it is striking that these attitudes not yet have resulted in more distinctive digital forms of cultural journalism.

Conclusions

Our analysis of the cultural news coverage of the Finnish, Norwegian, and Swedish public broadcasters reveal that cultural news has an established status in all countries, but it is only in Sweden that there are separate, regular cultural news bulletins both on radio and on television. NRK in Norway has recently (2009), after a period of separate cultural news bulletins, reintegrated its cultural news coverage on television into its main newscasts. Similarly, YLE in Finland provides a regular slot for cultural items in its television newscasts, whereas on radio the regular coverage of topical cultural issues is almost non-existent. All the companies analysed provide much broader cultural news coverage on their websites than in their broadcasts. Differences in the offerings between the broadcasters, as well as between the platforms, are moderate but apparent. Overall, the distinctions between the online and offline platforms are less

clear than between the three countries, suggesting that the news values and newsroom practices are not platform-based. The three Nordic countries show differing choices in their news emphases and journalistic approaches which appear to emanate from distinct national mandates of cultural journalism, i.e. differences in what is expected of cultural journalism.

Whether public broadcasters should provide specialised news bulletins for culture is a matter of choice. On the one hand, separating cultural issues into its own newscast emphasises culture as a specific and important field of society, requiring special competence and separate news criteria. On the other hand, a separate news bulletin may also signal a marginalisation of cultural news, representing a niche interest, particularly if scheduled unfavourably as was the case in Finland. Notwithstanding the aforementioned, we are doubtful about integrating cultural issues into the general newscasts. While it consolidates their status as a mainstream field of coverage equal to political, business, and general news, it may also result in applying generalist news criteria, an inability to recognise cultural issues as news, and a watered-down version of cultural journalism (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012). If autonomy is emphasised as a central value in cultural journalism, the independent *Kulturnytt* model is definitely preferable. This, however, requires resources as the examples of SR and SVT suggest.

Our analysis indicates that although all three countries represent the democratic corporatist or Nordic media model, and although their PSBs are close relatives, the values and practices of cultural journalism show distinct differences. Studies of culture pages in newspapers have indicated that a characteristic of cultural journalism is its balance between the journalistic paradigm and the aesthetic paradigm (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Jaakkola 2015b, Sarrimo 2016) and that cultural journalists have a position as intermediaries between the world of journalism and the world of culture (Hovden & Knapskog 2015). This is true of the cultural coverage by the public broadcasters too, but the four companies analysed appear to be located at different points on the continuum, with SR and SVT being nearer to the aesthetic end, YLE standing nearer to the journalistic end, and NRK situated somewhere between.

Notes

1. Heikki Hellman is currently serving on the Board of Directors at the YLE.
2. The interviewed persons were: Satu Nurmio, head of cultural news, YLE; Marie Liljedahl, editor of cultural news, SR P1; Mattias Hermansson, head of culture department, SR; Katarina Dahlgren Svanevik, editor of cultural news, SVT; Hege Duckert, head of culture, NRK; Hanna Thorsen, head of debate and cultural news, NRK; and Ole Jan Larsen, channel manager, NRK P2. The number of interviewed persons varied across the countries due to differences in the organisation of cultural news coverage.
3. All of these variables are not fully analysed here.

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7.

Editorial and Cultural Debates in Danish and Swedish Newspapers

Understanding the terror attacks in Paris and Copenhagen in early 2015

Nete Nørgaard Kristensen & Anna Roosvall

Abstract

This chapter analyses Danish and Swedish editorial/op-ed and cultural opinion articles in the aftermath of the terror attacks in Paris and Copenhagen in early 2015. Based on a theoretical framework detailing agonistic democracy, and deliberative and antagonistic approaches, a quantitative analysis maps who voices opinions and what conflicts and contexts are evoked, pointing to *similarities* in how the events are understood on a broader level. A qualitative analysis of polarizations, key concepts, reference points, and linguistic registers, specifying who is pictured as 'other' and how relationships to 'others' are imagined, indicates *differences* both between countries and between newspaper sections: While *editorials*, particularly Danish, often display one-sided stereotypical polarising antagonistic world-views, and Swedish articles display tendencies to abandoning previous multicultural approaches, (particularly Swedish) *cultural opinion articles* evoke conflictual co-existence, drawing on multiple cultural/political/philosophical contexts, thereby underlining cultural journalism's crucial role for agonistic democracy in a globalizing world.

Keywords: agonistic democracy, Charlie Hebdo, comparative case study, Mohammed cartoons, opinion journalism

This chapter addresses how diverse forms of opinionated journalism can act as a cultural-political voice in times of crisis. During the past years, Europe has witnessed numerous events that have shaken the international community. Among these are the attacks on the French satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo* and a Jewish supermarket in Paris in January 2015. Copenhagen was struck by similar events in February 2015 when the Danish cultural centre Krudttønden, hosting an event about freedom of speech, and the Great Synagogue were attacked. These episodes, soon to be labelled terrorist attacks, attracted wide news coverage and initiated extensive discussion on op-ed, debate and cultural pages in institutionalized news media.

The aim of this study is to convey and discuss similarities and differences between *editorial and op-ed material* and *cultural opinion articles* with regard to these events in

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Danish and *Swedish newspapers*. Firstly, research has indicated that cultural opinion material applies different outlooks on the world compared to journalism produced by other desks (Riegert, Roosvall & Widholm 2015). Secondly, the Danish and Swedish media contexts are intriguing for comparison in view of two previous incidents providing important backdrops for the debates on the attacks in 2015, and how these incidents were interpreted in the respective countries: Denmark attracted international attention when the daily *Jyllands-Posten* published Mohammed Cartoons in 2005/2006, stirring unprecedented international political controversy; and the Swedish regional newspaper *Nerikes Allehanda* published a Mohammed Cartoon by Swedish artist Lars Vilks in 2007, also provoking public debate but less so than in the Danish case. The research questions are:

- Who voices opinions about the attacks in Paris and Copenhagen in early 2015 on editorial, op-ed and cultural pages, and what types of opinionated genres are deployed?
- How are the events understood: what are they seen as examples of, what conflicts are they associated with, what contexts are evoked?
- Who is pictured as the other, and how is the relationship to the other imagined: as ending in consensus, conflictual co-existence, or as if co-existence is impossible with alleged enemies?

In the following, we detail previous research on the political potentials of cultural journalism as a specialised branch of journalism, on the Danish cartoon controversy from the mid-2000s, and to some extent on the Swedish controversy of 2007. We then outline our theoretical framework, mainly considering agonistic democracy (in relation to deliberative approaches and antagonism) and connected ideas on 'politics' versus 'the political'. This is followed by an introduction to our methods: quantitative mapping of editorial/op-ed/debate and cultural opinion articles, and a critical discourse/linguistic analysis of polarisations, linguistic registers, contextual reference points and key concepts in a smaller sample. While the quantitative results point to *similarities* in how the events are understood on a broader level, the qualitative analysis indicates *differences* both concerning countries and newspaper sections.

The political in cultural journalism and the mediation of the Mohammed cartoon crises

Historical accounts of cultural journalism in newspapers suggest that cultural journalism in some Nordic countries, especially Denmark, Norway and Finland, mainly focuses on cultural products and artists, downplaying institutionalised (cultural) politics (Hellman et al. 2017, Kristensen 2016, Larsen 2008) and larger societal issues.[1] Studies of Swedish cultural journalism, however, underline the political roles of cultural

journalism, and its democratic and critical potential for society, the press being an important venue for opinionated debates and "notions about human nature and how people should act towards one another" (Riegert, Roosvall & Widholm 2015: 781, see also Hemer et al. 2010). Furthermore, Lundqvist (2012) points to Swedish cultural opinion material being more dialogic than traditional op-ed material.

The Mohammed cartoon controversies of the mid-2000s also suggest that the political is an integral part of contemporary cultural journalism in the Nordic countries, as it was the then cultural editor of the Danish broadsheet *Jyllands-Posten*, Flemming Rose, who commissioned the 12 satirical Mohammed Cartoons in the fall of 2005 with the aim of starting a national debate about freedom of expression. Wallentin & Ekecrantz's (2007) study of the controversy in Swedish media shows that alternative perspectives about the events appeared on the *cultural* pages (together with debate pages), providing "more of a reflective and interpretational or explanatory tone, giving historical references and discussing the political climate" (198), while editorials tended to represent the world as more polarised. This confirms the importance of making cultural opinion journalism, op-ed and editorial material the focus of this study.

The Danish cartoon crisis is often viewed as an example of the paradoxes of globalisation. Eide, Kunelius and Phillips (2008) analyse the crisis as a *transnational media event*, reported and framed from local/national perspectives (domestication). Hahn (2008) explains that in a globalising world 'pictures travel, discourses do not'; the discourses in which the cartoons were created did not accompany them on their subsequent travels around the world. Various studies exemplify this: Hussain (2007) argues that the cartoons reiterated a long Western tradition of distorted (popular cultural) representations of Mohammed as an 'Islamic other'; Bonde (2007) points to the Imams from the Danish Muslim communities focusing on the religious aspects of the controversy, while the Danish government concentrated on freedom of expression; and Kuipers (2011) points to the (political) power of in/excluding particular social groups by means of satire in culture-specific humour regimes. Thus, scholars often highlight the clashing of civilizations (e.g., Eide, Kunelius & Phillips 2008, Strömbäck, Shehata & Dimitrova 2008). Furthermore, local/national *journalism* cultures are seen as important to the transnational framings and repercussions. Comparing the Swedish and US coverage of the Danish cartoon crisis, Shehata (2007) and Strömbäck, Shehata & Dimitrova (2008), for example, show that the event received much more coverage in Sweden, and that 'freedom of expression' was a dominating framing in the US coverage, while Danish 'intolerance' dominated the Swedish coverage (i.e., exemplifying an anti-Islamic trend in Denmark). They also highlight the active role of Swedish journalists in defining the issue (see also Camauër 2010 on the Vilk's cartoon). Hjarvard (2006) also points to editors, journalists and pundits playing an important part in the Danish debates, and sees this as an example of a re-politicization of parts of the Danish press (see also Hervik & Berg 2007). *Jyllands-Posten* actively set a political agenda by focusing on freedom of expression, which can be seen as a continuation of the newspaper's (critical) po-

sition on immigration/refugee issues (Hjarvard 2006: 51). The event thus became a means of emphasising particular media brands in an increasingly competitive media market, which may potentially also be the case for the debates about the Paris and Copenhagen occurrences in early 2015.

National frameworks are important not just for countries that are far apart, but also for neighbouring countries such as Denmark and Sweden. Larsson & Lindekilde (2009) argue that the two countries' political approaches to immigration – Denmark focusing on Danish 'leitkultur' ('superiority' of national culture) in contrast to Sweden's support for a multicultural society – influenced the progression of the cartoon controversies of the mid-2000s, including the national political elites' reactions and the newspapers' reasons for engaging in debates about freedom of expression. While *Jyllands-Posten* commissioned Mohammed cartoons to *initiate* a national debate about freedom of expression, *Nerikes Allehanda* allegedly published Vilks' cartoon *in response* to Vilks' freedom of expression being suppressed (Ibid.). Regarding the Vilks incident, Camauër (2010) emphasises the media's efforts to create dialogue by juxtaposing critics and supporters of the the publishing of the cartoon (but also constructing 'close' and 'distant' Muslim identities, favouring the former and excluding the latter). Wallentin and Ekecrantz (2007: 197) note, however, that the relatively positive view on multiculturalism/immigration in Sweden started to crumble during the cartoon crisis, specifically when Sweden inadvertently became a target as the Swedish embassy was housed together with the Danish embassy when it was attacked in Damascus. They also underline that the Swedish coverage displayed differences between editorials and news, on the one hand, and cultural and debate articles, on the other, concluding that in the Swedish debate freedom of speech was primarily a freedom for the (Western) media and about legitimizing editorial and professional liberties, and, perhaps, excesses (Ibid.: 198). This is similar to Hervik and Berg's (2007) observation that few debaters in the Danish media defended Muslims' free speech and right to demonstrate, since it was not the *right* that was questioned, but *how* and by *whom* this right should be exercised (Ibid.: 38). Containing traces of nationalistic and racist language, the Danish media debate was concluded to be more polarised than the cartoons themselves, and to be framed depending on the political leaning of the newspaper, again implying a re-politicization of certain newspapers (Ibid.).

Existing research thus emphasises the importance of analysing 1) editorial *and* cultural debates – and who takes part in these debates – since cultural debates may potentially be more inclusive and provide other perspectives than editorial debates that often serve as branding tools; and 2) the national framings of these debates, even in culturally close contexts, i.e., how events of a global nature are understood in national settings by various types of debaters, including the news media themselves.

Agonistic democracy and 'the political'

Deliberative democracy is aligned to journalism's dialogic function since arguments by participants committed to impartiality constitute decision-making in this tradition (Strömbäck 2005). Ideals of journalism are often connected to this view of democracy within contexts such as the Danish and Swedish ones. The goal of deliberative democracy is consensus and peace (Gutman & Thompson 2009), which are obtained through rationality presiding over passion (Strömbäck 2005: 337). Arguments are crucial also in *agonistic* democracy, but its goal of dialogue is different, 'pro-con thinking', or a confrontational mode, being the method (Mouffe 2013, Roberts-Miller 2002). This focus on conflict and struggle also differs from *antagonism*. Antagonism opposes ethico-political values of liberty and equity for all, while agonism adheres to them and is marked by conflict within the frames of these values, for instance in terms of how to interpret them (Mouffe 2005: 121). Unlike antagonism, agonistic approaches to democracy thus include respect and concern for 'the other' (Chambers 2001). However, "when channels are not available through which conflicts could take an 'agonistic' form, those conflicts tend to emerge on the antagonistic mode" (Mouffe 2005: 5). News media could constitute agonistic channels, and, as indicated, particularly cultural journalism has shown tendencies to adhere to such ideals (Riegert, Roosvall & Widholm 2015).

Particularly in the qualitative part of this study, we consider whether deliberative, agonistic or antagonistic approaches are drawn on in diverse national and journalistic contexts (editorial vs. cultural opinion). We consider whether conflicts, often at the core of the analysed texts, are handled in a deliberative, agonistic or antagonistic way. Is the end product of deliberation necessarily pictured as consensus (deliberative democracy)? Is there openness towards fruitful conflict in a context of co-existence (agonistic democracy)? Or is there an enemy-approach scotching co-existence (antagonism)?

Within this framework, we distinguish between 'politics' and 'the political' (Mouffe 2005: 8). 'Politics' refers to conventional politics, i.e., the "set of practices and institutions through which an order is created" (Mouffe 2005: 9). 'Politics' orders human life, human coexistence, in relation to the *conflictuality* that 'the political' creates (Ibid., emphasis added). Thus, 'the political' is connected to agonism. Herein lies the recognition of social division and the legitimation of conflict (Ibid.: 119). 'The political' is more ideological than institutionalized, forefronting the existence of a plurality of interests, and demanding that need to be considered, notwithstanding that such need can never be fully reconciled (Ibid.: 120). In fact, if social division cannot be expressed in a *political* way, its passionate mobilization for democratic goals can be replaced by antagonisms that will threaten democratic institutions (Ibid.). Artistic practices have the political potential to unsettle ideological hegemony (Mouffe 2013), which is relevant to our study since the first places attacked (*Charlie Hebdo* and Krudttønden) involve artistic expressions (while the second targets are signified by religion/Judaism). Cultural journalism is moreover often in itself seen as artistic/literary expression (Kristensen & From 2011; Riegert, Roosvall & Widholm 2015).[2]

Material and the mixed-methods approach

The study combines content analysis and qualitative critical discourse/linguistic analysis. The quantitative part maps structures and characteristics of the takes on the events across countries and newspaper sections, while the qualitative part provides in-depth insights to the debates.

As suggested, the Danish and Swedish contexts represent a useful comparison considering the previous cartoon controversies. The Danish sample consists of *Jyllands-Posten* (in print) and *Politiken* (in print), two national newspapers of distinct ideological orientations.[3] *Jyllands-Posten* is of conservative leaning and has 238.000 daily readers (print edition); its mission is to "disseminate all utterances and opinions that challenge and strengthen the readers' knowledge" (http://jyllands-posten.org, accessed 16.09.16, our translation).[4] *Politiken* is of liberal, centre-left leaning, has 303.000 daily readers (print edition) and is historically known to prioritize culture and debate, and for its 'culture radical' approach. During the Danish cartoon controversy, *Politiken* stood out because the then editor-in-chief, Tøger Seidenfaden, publicly criticised *Jyllands-Posten*. The Swedish sample includes *Aftonbladet* (in print) and *Dagens Nyheter* (in print). *Aftonbladet* is the most read newspaper in Sweden, reaching 636.000 readers per day (print edition) (Orvesto 2016). It is an independent social-democratic tabloid that used to be an evening newspaper. *Dagens Nyheter* reached 625.000 daily readers in 2015 (print edition) (Orvesto 2016) and is the most read newspaper in the former morning, or 'quality', paper category. It is labelled 'independent liberal' and considered a main opinion venue, where elites (strive to) publish interventions in public debate. The study focuses on print editions, where culture and opinionated articles are allocated to specific pages/sections, pointing to the continuous editorial significance attributed to this content in both countries.

We analyse commentary articles in view of their agonistic potential. Especially editorials and commentaries by cultural editors play a significant role in the qualitative analysis. The editorial genre is the one closest to the field of power, mapping the diversity of legitimate opinions (Kunelius 2012: 37). Being evaluative texts, criticizing and favouring, they express the newspaper's political views on particular topics, or the 'soul' of the newspaper (see Nord 1998: 19), often skewed towards opinions that the newspaper's readers are assumed to agree with (Hjarvard 2010). Editorials also express what the newspaper considers the most important topic of the day (Wahl-Jorgensen 2008). Editorials do not appear in the exact same way in the two countries. While they are often unsigned in Sweden, some editorials (editorial chronicles, etc.) are signed and published on a specific page, labelled 'editorial(s)'. Accordingly, Swedish newspapers may bring more editorial articles per day, while Danish newspapers typically only publish one. In addition to editorials, cultural commentaries, especially by cultural editors, are important means of branding newspapers. Cultural journalism, as a specialised type of journalism, is distinguished by its opinionated approach and the personal tone or styles vested in the writing by journalists and critics (Kristensen

& From 2015; Riegert, Roosvall & Widholm 2015). Our sample thus includes opinion pieces – editorials, columns, chronicles, etc. – published in the cultural section and on the editorial and debate pages.[5] Only pieces by journalists, editors or columnists or by agents representing media-external, societal (power) positions (politicians, artists, organizations, etc.) are included (not citizens' letters to the editor).[6]

Quantitative mapping

The sampled dates include the two weeks following the events, in the Paris-case, January 7-21 2015, and in the Copenhagen-case, February 14-28 2015. Articles were accessed through Infomedia (Denmark) and Retriever (Sweden), i.e., online archives of content from print and digital news media. In the Paris-case, the search word was 'Charlie Hebdo', leading to 308 Danish articles of which 70 were included in the sample, and 186 Swedish articles of which 46 were included, based on the section and genre criteria. In the Danish sampling of the Copenhagen-case, at least one of the following search words had to be in the article: 'Krudttønden', 'Vilks', 'Synagoge', leading to 194 articles of which 46 were included in the sample. The Swedish sampling mirrored the Danish with the addition of the search word 'Copenhagen' [Köpenhamn] (articles about other events in Copenhagen were excluded manually), generating 146 articles of which 36 were included. Generalizations must be made with caution due to the sample size (198 articles in total). The significance of the findings is however strengthened by the fact that they are based on *all* the published articles meeting the sampling criteria. Moreover, we have mainly analysed manifest content in order to increase the reliability. The coding focused on article placement (section), types of opinionated genres, authors' affiliation to the publishing media institution, societal spheres commentators belong to, illustrations, use of terms/wordings, whether references were made to the Mohammed cartoon controversies (and in the Copenhagen-case, to the Paris events).

Qualitative analysis

We conduct a critical discourse analysis (CDA) inspired by discourse theory (Winter-Jørgensen & Phillips 2002) and critical linguistics (Fowler 1991), the latter approach bringing a certain amount of quantification of qualitative findings regarding language use. These related strands are combined in a search for *key concepts*; *linguistic registers*; *reference points* to which the events are related; and to what extent and how *polarisations* occur.

Polarisations: Which dichotomies (conflicting entities) are constituted in articles from different contexts (country, section, newspaper) and who are included in 'us' vs. 'them' (Fowler 1991: 49)? Polarisations are often constructed so that one side is viewed as 'normal' (associated with 'us', and 'good') and the other as 'deviant' (associated with 'them' and 'bad') (Hall 1997: 235, van Dijk 2000).

Key concepts: The Paris and Copenhagen attacks are seen as *nodal points*, privileged centres of discourse to which other key concepts are connected (Winter-Jørgensen & Phillips 2002). What are these concepts? Are the events related to different concepts in different parts of our material, thereby generating different discourses in different countries, sections, or newspapers?

Reference points: We consider how events are contextualized by evocation of reference points in time and space. Are they related to the Mohammed-cartoon crises, 9/11, cultural or political contexts, etc.? Unlike the quantitative investigation, this qualitative one does not have predetermined reference points but is open to all that may occur.

Registers: The articles' understandings of the events are investigated also in terms of which *registers* they draw on. Registers are clusters of words relating to specific ways of talking/writing associated with certain spheres of society/subjects and, in some cases, certain ways of viewing these subjects (Fowler 1991: 84). The registers for talking about war and literature, for instance, differ. While a war register includes terms like battle, invasion, and defence, we find prose, poetry, style, genre, etc. in a literature register. Sometimes words from a war register will be transferred to non-war contexts, thus implying war-like attitudes.

The qualitative sample encompasses the first published editorial articles in each newspaper, and the first published cultural opinion article by the cultural editors of the respective newspapers from the Paris and Copenhagen attacks. *Jyllands-Posten* does not feature any cultural opinion article by the cultural editor on the Copenhagen attacks. Thus, the material consists of 15 articles. The choice of these articles is based on the idea that initial discourses in such opinion pieces may be of importance in framing the debates.[7] By combining the quantitative mapping with this qualitative in-depth analysis, we aim to increase the validity of the overall findings.

Mapping the debates

The quantitative mapping, based on the 198 articles in the sample (Table 1), points to some differences but mostly to similarities.

Table 1. Extent of debates (per cent)

	Paris sample	Copenhagen sample
Denmark: *Politiken*	33	38
Denmark: *Jyllands-Posten*	28	18
Sweden: *Dagens Nyheter*	27	33
Sweden: *Aftonbladet*	13	11
Total per cent	101	100
Total number of articles	116	82

Venues and genres for debate

The placing (Table 2) of articles displays some national differences in the organization of content. The debate pages are main venues for debating the events in Denmark, especially in *Jyllands-Posten*. In the Swedish newspapers, the cultural section plays the principal role, especially in *Dagens Nyheter*, exemplifying that Swedish cultural sections are more political (Riegert, Roosvall & Widholm 2015) than the Danish ones. While only 14 per cent of the Danish sample is published in the cultural section, the share is 46 per cent in the Swedish. However, *Politiken*'s profile as a cultural 'viewspaper' is suggested by one third of the articles in this newspaper being printed in the cultural section (20 per cent) or in weekend-supplements of a culture-societal nature (13 per cent); by contrast, the cultural section in *Jyllands-Posten* plays a marginal role (despite, or perhaps because of, its role in the Mohammed cartoon crisis). Editorial pages are also important venues in the Swedish newspapers, bringing several editorial texts by different columnists per day, whereas Danish newspapers do not have editorial pages.

Table 2. Sectioning/placing (per cent)

	Politiken	*Jyllands-Posten*	*Aftonbladet*	*Dagens Nyheter*
Front page (1st section)	14			5
Cultural pages	20	4	33	52
Editorial pages			29	33
Debate pages	52	96	25	7
Other places*	13		13	3
Total per cent	99	100	100	100
Total number of articles	69	47	24	58

* In *Politiken*, several commentaries are placed in weekend supplements (e.g., PS) of a broader culture-societal nature.

However, all newspapers address the events in numerous editorials and to an almost equal extent (except *Aftonbladet*) (Table 3),[8] confirming the significance ascribed to the events in view of the editorial's privileged space. This significance is confirmed by the publishing of several commentary articles in addition to the editorials, authored by members of editorial staff, again signalling opinions and explanatory frameworks from the newspaper's point of view. Some commenters are high-ranking members of staff; the editors in chief and cultural editors of *Politiken*, *Dagens Nyheter* and *Aftonbladet* have all commented on both events. *Jyllands-Posten* stands out because the editor in chief does not provide any signed commentaries,[9] and the cultural editor only writes one (on Paris), but also because this newspaper brings significantly more debate articles than the other newspapers. These genre patterns characterise the handling of both the Paris and the Copenhagen attacks.

Table 3. Genres (per cent)

	Politiken	*Jyllands-Posten*	*Aftonbladet*	*Dagens Nyheter*
(Main) Editorial	16	17	8	12
Chronicle	3	6		14
Commentary/column*	46	28	58	45
Debate articles**	29	47	29	26
Other	6	2	4	3
Total	100	100	99	100
Total number of articles	69	47	24	58

* Columns/commentaries are typically by media professionals, i.e., persons internal to the media

** Debate articles are typically by persons external to the media

Sectioning of articles and genre use thus confirm the newspapers' brands, i.e., the more cultural nature of *Politiken* and *Dagens Nyheter*, compared to their national competitors, and point to some national differences, especially the more political nature of the Swedish cultural sections compared to their Danish counterparts.

Debaters

The genre findings are supported by the media institutional affiliations of those engaging in the debates. The majority of articles across events and countries/newspapers are by members of editorial staff (coded as 'persons internal to the media') (Table 4), corresponding to the more general interpretive turn of contemporary journalism (e.g., Barnhurst 2014), where commentary genres and pundits have become important trademarks – and have perhaps even superseded the allocation of space to voices external to the news medium. These patterns echo findings from the Danish and Swedish cartoon controversies in the mid-2000s, when news media's staff members were, as mentioned, seen to drive events (Camauër 2010, Hjarvard 2006, Shehata 2007). *Jyllands-Posten* stands out by bringing slightly more articles by persons external to the newspaper (parallel to the genre findings). Again, these patterns characterise both the Paris and Copenhagen coverage.

Table 4. Debaters' affiliation to the newspaper publishing the article (per cent)

	Politiken	*Jyllands-Posten*	*Aftonbladet*	*Dagens Nyheter*
Person internal to the newspaper	61	47	67	64
Personal external to the newspaper	39	53	33	36
Total	100	100	100	100
Total number of articles	69	47	24	58

A closer look at the social spheres, where the debaters come from (if from outside the media), reveals that the second most but far less regular type of voice belongs to

cultural personas – e.g., authors or critics. They are more common in *Dagens Nyheter* (11/58 articles), *Aftonbladet* (4/24 articles) and *Politiken* (10/69 articles) than in *Jyllands-Posten* (3/47 articles). This again points to the culturally oriented brands of especially *Dagens Nyheter* and *Politiken*. Standard voices in journalism such as experts, politicians and various types of organisations play a much less prominent role than in traditional news journalism.

Mohammed cartoons, Islam and terrorism

While much of the debate revolved around whether or not to publish (Mohammed) cartoons, such cartoons, e.g. from *Charlie Hebdo*, rarely illustrate the debates. In the debates about the Paris attacks, cartoons from *Charlie Hebdo* only accompany four articles, two in each of the Swedish newspapers but none in the Danish. In the case of the Copenhagen shootings, *Jyllands-Posten* publishes one *Charlie Hebdo* cartoon, while *Dagens Nyheter* and *Aftonbladet* each reprint Lars Vilks' cartoon of Mohammed as a roundabout dog. No cartoons from the Danish controversy (or other Mohammed cartoons) are (re)published in our sample.

The study coded for the presence of terminologies and contextualizations in the articles (see Tables 5 and 6). There are some overall similarities between newspapers across the two cases, since the most dominating terms connect to 'terror' (terror, terrorist, terror attack, terrorism) in both cases and in all newspapers. A similar pattern characterises the use of 'Islam/Islamists/ Muslims', which are also included in the majority of articles across newspapers in both cases.

Despite these cross-national similarities, the Danish cartoon controversy unsurprisingly constitutes a more pronounced frame of reference in Danish newspapers (Table 5). This is especially the case in *Jyllands-Posten* and in relation to the Paris attacks, since parallels are drawn between *Jyllands-Posten*'s and *Charlie Hebdo*'s publications of Mohammed cartoons. The cartoons are not only seen as causes of the attack on *Charlie Hebdo* but also as a point of departure for more principal debates about whether or not to publish Mohammed cartoons, mock religions, and ultimately about the confines of freedom of expression/the press. Hence, the main discourse from the Danish cartoon crisis on freedom of expression is echoed, since it is a recurring issue which newspapers have the right to use the 'Je Suis Charlie' slogan. Similarly, Swedish columnists mention Swedish artist Lars Vilks more often. This confirms that proximity and national context play key roles in the framing of the debates, with both countries' previous cartoon controversies being important backdrops.

Table 5. Words used across the two events (per cent)[10]

	Politiken	*Jyllands-Posten*	*Aftonbladet*	*Dagens Nyheter*
Freedom of expression/the press	64	62	71	58
Democracy	46	51	50	38
Freedom	45	51	42	26
Danish cartoon controversy	35	38	8	14
Lars Vilks	10	11	25	24
Terror/terrorism/terrorists	86	78	88	76
Islam/Muslims	72	77	79	67
Judaism/Jews	48	36	50	53
Christianity/Christians	13	23	17	22
Other religions	4	9	17	16
Meta-coverage	25	21	21	7
Total number of articles	69	47	24	58
In the Copenhagen shooting-case:	55	60	78	74
Reference to Paris events (per cent)	(of 31 articles)	(of 15 articles)	(of 9 articles)	(of 27 articles)

Table 6. Words used/themes addressed across newspapers (per cent)

	Charlie Hebdo	Copenhagen shooting
Freedom of expression/the press	69	50
Democracy	45	46
Freedom	48	29
Danish cartoon controversy (2005-06)	34	15
Lars Vilks	3	35
Islam(-ism/-ists)/Muslims	74	70
Judaism/Jews	25	77
Christianity/Christians	18	20
Other religions	15	4
Terror/terrorism/terrorists	79	84
Meta-coverage	23	11
Total number of articles	116	82
In the Copenhagen shooting: reference to Paris events (per cent)		65 (of 82 articles)

While differences between *countries/newspapers* are not very pronounced, there are some significant differences between *the two cases* (Table 6) in the use of terminologies and contextualization. Mention of freedom of expression/the press and freedom values is much more common in the debates on the Paris attacks, making the attack on *Charlie Hebdo* the focal point rather than the attack on the Jewish supermarket. The opposite is the case in the debates about the Copenhagen shootings, where the killing of a Jewish man standing guard in front of the Great Synagogue triggers numerous pieces about the difficult situation for Jews in Europe, making the mention of Juda-

ism/Jews significantly more prevalent. By contrast, the killing of a participant at the debate meeting at Krudttønden on freedom of expression (with Lars Vilks as main speaker) receives much less attention. Thus, despite the structural similarities of the two events, both involving attacks on Jewish communities and on people working to defend a certain version of freedom of expression, the newspapers' focus and framing vary somewhat between the cases.

The quantitative analysis has thus identified similarities between debates in Denmark and Sweden, including: 1) the majority of debaters are staff-members, expressing viewpoints in editorials and columns; 2) all newspapers are reluctant to illustrate their debates with Mohammed cartoons of any kind, even though such cartoons are at the centre of the debates; and 3) terrorism, Islam and freedom values are shared reference points. The main difference is *where* in the newspapers the debates play out. In Sweden, they unfold in the cultural and editorial pages and in Denmark in the debate pages (and *Politiken's* culture section). Domestication of global events is also – not surprisingly – evident: the *Jyllands-Posten* Mohammed cartoon crisis is a more important reference point for the Danish debates, while the Lars Vilks cartoon controversy is more prevalent in the Swedish debates. Finally, an important difference between the two cases is the emphasis on freedom of expression in the Paris-case and on the Jewish situation in the Copenhagen-case.

The qualitative analysis, as we shall see, unveil some more nuanced differences between countries as well as newspaper sections.

Discursive differences after all

In this part, we study in depth differences between countries and editorial vs. cultural opinion material in the 15 selected articles. We also consider demarcating traits of certain newspapers. We include examples that are distinctive of the illuminated relationships (e.g. between countries and reference points).

Country differences

Polarisations. Polarisations appear differently in the two national contexts. Islam(-ist) appears on the 'deviant'/'bad' side (van Dijk 2000) 11 times in the Danish material (several polarisations containing Islam can appear in one article), but only four times in the Swedish material. Muslim(-s) similarly appear(s) more often on the bad side in the Danish newspapers (five times), compared to the Swedish material (twice), where it also appears once on the 'good' side (the Iraqi army also appears on the good side in the Swedish material). This indicates a more multifaceted representation in the Swedish material, which sometimes features quite diverse concepts and groups together on the good side, such as: 'Charlie Hebdo', 'Freedom of speech', 'French society and the vast majority of French Muslims'. These conjoined entities are polarised against

'the French Muslim board' [Muslimska rådet i Frankrike] (*Dagens Nyheter*, editorial, Paris-case), illustrating that diverse groups of Muslims may appear on different sides of the polarisations. The term 'extremist' stands out on the bad side of the Swedish polarisations (eight times compared to four in the Danish material), and it frequently (four times in three articles) occurs as right wing extremists. In the Danish articles, extremists are more exclusively associated with Islam (or unspecified). This indicates what the conflicts are perceived to concern: *Islam/Muslims and extremism* in the Danish discussion, and *extremism more broadly* in Sweden. *Jyllands-Posten* also polarises Europe/Europeans against Middle Eastern migrants, who will allegedly never become Europeans regarding values and culture despite their European citizenship (editorial, Copenhagen-case).

Registers: While Islam is pertinent in the Danish polarisations, Religion appears as a register in all close-read Swedish articles.[11] Islam appears in the material most often as ideology/politics, not as religion, which is characteristic of media coverage of Islam in other cases too (Roosvall 2016). A religious register is here indicated by words such as religion/religious/congregation/blasphemy, and the use of words like 'faithfulness' in relation to other areas, e.g. "faithfulness [trohet] to our societies' ideals" (editorial, *Dagens Nyheter*, Copenhagen-case) or 'credo' in terms of "the credo in his [Lars Vilks'] art" (cultural opinion, *Aftonbladet*, Copenhagen-case). While three of seven Danish articles (two editorials, one cultural opinion article) draw on a religious register, Islam features quite heavily in a non-religious register used only by *Jyllands-Posten* (one editorial, one cultural opinion): the Culturalism/clash of cultures register. *Culturalism* is defined as identity politics on the level of the nation-state (Appadurai 1996: 15). Identity politics often consists of efforts by minority groups to protect their rights, sometimes specifically connected to cultural specificity (Fraser 2000). In *Jyllands-Posten's* version, it adopts another form, appearing at the national level as the right to *national-cultural* uniqueness, but only for some people in certain places; that is, you can employ cultural uniqueness only in your own nation. This is connected to the above-mentioned ideas of 'leitkultur' (Larsson & Lindekilde 2009) and *clash of cultures*/civilizations (e.g., Eide, Kunelius & Phillips 2008). The register contains words such as (from cultural opinion, *Jyllands-Posten*, Paris-case):

> wholly Danish [paeredansk], of Middle Eastern decent, Danish school, Denmark, Islam, rules of living, integration (i.e., no integration), social adjustment (i.e., no social adjustment), radicalized Islamists, Western values, Muslims, European countries, sharia law, national constitution, second generation immigrants, Morocco, Turkey, France, the Koran, Muslim community/brotherhood, Islamic roots, radicalization, the home, cultural integration (needed), Islam in Europe, extremism, 'them and us'

'Western freedom of speech' is the register occurring most often in both countries (all eight Swedish articles, five of the seven Danish articles). It is termed 'Western' since it often accentuates this heritage and is understood in relation to Western enlighten-

ment (freedom of speech as such is not necessarily a Western phenomenon, see Sen 2006). Although Western Freedom of Speech and Religion both occur in all Swedish articles, Western Freedom of Speech appears in a more elaborate way, contributes more words and tends to dominate the articles. The only articles lacking this register are two *Jyllands-Posten* articles, which instead draw on the Culturalism/clash of cultures register (one editorial, one cultural opinion). Western Freedom of Speech is characterized by words such as (editorial, *Politiken,* Paris-case):

> satirical, enlightenment, words, drawings, press, freedom, freedom of speech, journalists, drawers/cartoonists, satirists, provocateurs, open society, democratic, hate, Mohammed cartoons, silence, have our mouths shut, critique of religion, Western democracy, public debate

Apart from Western Freedom of Speech and Religion, War and Law are the only registers drawn on in more than two articles per country (War: Denmark 4, Sweden 4; Law: Denmark 4, Sweden 5).[12] The registers Socialism, Political Philosophy and Body occur in two articles each; we discuss these in the section on differences between editorial and cultural material.[13]

Reference points: The Danish Mohammed cartoon crisis is a prominent reference point, as evidenced also in the quantitative analysis, occurring in the closely examined articles from both Denmark and Sweden. However, the Swedish articles tend to use more reference points besides the Mohammed cartoons. *Aftonbladet,* for example, uses:

> Utøya and Anders Behring Breivik; ISIS conquering large parts of Iraq ("last summer"); Jens Stoltenberg speaking in Oslo cathedral 2011 (editorial, Paris-case), Mujahedin in Afghanistan in the 1980s (Western powers' support for them); Bush's crusade; the Palestinian cause – unresolved since 1948; Osama bin Ladin's staging of 9/11; Apartheid; the Iraq war; war on terror, three Somali-Swedes had all their assets locked away in 2001; the sending of two innocent "Egyptian Swedes" to torture in Egypt 2001 (cultural opinion, Paris-case)

Dagens Nyheter uses for instance these reference points (cultural opinion, Paris-case):

> 9/11, Afghanistan, Bali, Bagdad, Madrid, Falluja, London, Kandahar, Lebanon, Pakistan, Gaza, Stockholm, Abottabad, and Utöja

By contrast, the Danish articles mainly include the Mohammed cartoons and Islam as reference points, although *Politiken*'s cultural editor Rune Lykkeberg's articles tend to include more, and more varied, reference points than other Danish articles. The fact that Utøya appears in only the Swedish articles corresponds with the above-mentioned use of right wing extremists as part of polarisations in the Swedish material. It also

coincides with more general distinctions between right and left rather than between cultures (although such distinctions also occur) in the Swedish material (see below).

Key concepts: The qualitative analysis of key concepts partly echoes the quantitative findings: 'Freedom' ('of speech'), 'Free/Open society', variants of 'Democracy', 'Threat', 'Violence', 'Terror(/ism/ist)', 'Middle East', 'Islam'/'Muslims', 'Western', 'Europe', 'Extremism', etc., appear often. In order to convey what concepts stand out the most, we extract in the following key concepts that are used at least twice/article. 'Freedom of speech' permeates the material on this level too (paralleling its prominence as a register). Variants of 'Terror' similarly appear at least twice as a key concept in most examined articles. 'Violence' is used twice/article *only* in the Danish material (both newspapers, both editorial and cultural material). 'Threat' appears twice/article *mainly* in the Danish material (both newspapers, both editorial and cultural material). 'Democracy' appears in the same way, in both newspapers, and in both editorial and cultural material in the Danish sample, while only appearing as a key concept twice/article in one Swedish article. The conclusion discusses possible implications of this.

There are also some notable occurrences of key concepts used only once/article: This is the case of 'Humanism' in the Swedish sample (editorials in both newspapers) and 'nation' mainly in the Danish material (mostly in *Jyllands-Posten*, but also once in Swedish *Aftonbladet*). We discuss how this relates to registers, polarisations and reference points in the conclusions.

Editorials vs. opinion articles by cultural editors

The qualitative analysis suggests differences not only between countries, but also between editorial and cultural opinion material across countries.

Polarizations: The term 'we' (/us/our) is used more frequently in editorials, occurring on the good side in all eight articles (18 polarisations in total). In the cultural opinion material, it occurs in four of seven articles (nine polarisations in total, five of these in the *Politiken* article on Copenhagen). At the same time, Islam/Muslims is less accentuated on the bad side of the polarisations in cultural opinion material, although it does appear prominently in *Jyllands-Posten* and it turns up in the form of 'Islamist' in one *Politiken* article. *Aftonbladet*'s cultural page stands out through a quite diverse bad side of polarisations, featuring for instance, 'the editorial page of *Dagens Nyheter*', 'the liberals', 'Lars Vilks', 'USA's war of aggression', and 'the liberals and the bushoisie [sic]'.

Registers: When the cultural articles draw on the Western freedom of speech register, it appears to be more elaborated than in the editorials, referring more to drawers, artists, newsrooms, etc. Furthermore, the registers Political Philosophy, Socialist, and Body are specific to the cultural pages. The Political Philosophy register appears only in *Politiken*, in both articles by cultural editor Rune Lykkeberg (both events). It is characterized by terms like (from both articles):

> ideas, citizens, end of history, Western states, the state, rights, constitutional state, doctrines, paragraphs in constitutional law, institutions, principles of liberal democracy, the individual, global public, Fukuyama, Habermas, Isahia Berlin

Similarly, the Socialist register appears only in the two articles by *Aftonbladet*'s cultural editor Åsa Linderborg. This register materializes through words like (from both articles):

> the Palestinian issue, the Liberals, the DN liberals, 'fascist', the Left, progressive, Olof Palme, solidarity, the bushoisie [sic], the party headquarters

This Socialism register does not appear in the close-read editorials from the same newspaper (which identifies as independent Social Democratic). Hence, the Left perspective is more pronounced in the cultural articles. The Body register occurs in one article by *Dagens Nyheter*'s cultural editor Björn Wiman and in one by *Politiken*'s cultural editor Rune Lykkeberg. Wiman uses the body as a metaphor for society. The headline of the article (on the Paris-case) reads "The deed in Paris is an attack on the *heart* [heart point] of the Enlightenment" (emphasis added), followed by the statement "A newspaper's editorial office is the *artery* of open society" in the article's lead (emphasis added). Lykkeberg uses *heart* similarly, describing the deed as an attack on the heart of the French republic (Paris article). In the same article, he also mentions body parts (*penis* [kønslem], when describing a caricature) and refers to actions as *pissing* and *smearing* [svine ham til] in a symbolic way. The use of these registers in the cultural sections exemplifies the distinction of the cultural editors' voices and of the importance of writing style in cultural journalism (see also Kristensen & From 2011, 2015; Riegert, Roosvall & Widholm 2015). The cultural opinion articles are thus distinguished from editorials discussing the same subject, by applying a fleshier, more vivid and sonorous style.

Reference points: The reference points in cultural articles tend to originate from the cultural world. This may seem obvious, but it affects the interpretive frames of the described events significantly. The cultural opinion articles in *Dagens Nyheter*, for instance, use novels and films as reference points, and moreover do this in a historical way. They refer for instance to a novel by Patrick Modiano, describing how he was picked up by a police patrol wagon in the 1960s and how his Jewish father experienced the same thing during the Nazi rule (cultural opinion, Paris-case). This also illustrates that the Swedish cultural articles tend to use reference points in a transnational way. The Swedish cultural opinion articles are generally more generous with reference points, including:

> Chelsea Manning, Edward Snowden, Theo van Gogh, Patrick Modianou, Michel Houellebecq, Afghanistan, Bali, Marie Antoinette, 9/11, etc.

The cultural articles also emphasise philosophical reference points, which connects to the Political Philosophy register of *Politiken*'s cultural articles, though philosophical reference points also characterize other cultural articles. For instance, enlightenment is related to the attacks through demarcations of historical enlightenment events in the same area in Paris (cultural opinion, *Dagens Nyheter*, Paris-case).

Key concepts: The term 'Open society' is used twice/article only in cultural material (*Dagens Nyheter* and *Politiken*). This emphasis on openness can be related to the often more inclusive character of the cultural articles. It corresponds to the more varied use of registers in cultural articles overall (some registers, as mentioned, occur only in cultural articles), and to the political philosophy approach of the cultural articles in *Politiken*, as well as to the multiplicity of reference points occurring specifically in the Swedish cultural material. 'Art' (/-ist/work of art, etc.) is used as a key concept twice/article only in the Swedish cultural opinion articles (*Dagens Nyheter* and *Aftonbladet*). Concurrently, the cultural sections overall link the events to the world of expression in arts and journalism, which feature less prominently in the editorials that place more emphasis on 'Terror' and 'Freedom of Speech' (without elaborating as much on drawings, editorial offices, etc.). Other key concepts that appear at least twice/article in only cultural articles are 'Muslims' and 'Western', in both cases in *Jyllands-Posten* and *Aftonbladet*. The conclusion addresses the implications of this.

Conclusions

This chapter has quantitatively and qualitatively compared editorial and cultural debates about recent European terror attacks in Swedish and Danish newspapers. The quantitative mapping pointed to more similarities than differences between Denmark and Sweden. In both countries, a majority of debaters were members of staff, rather than politicians, experts or organisations, thus illustrating the interpretive turn of journalism (e.g., Barnhurst 2014). All newspapers were hesitant to illustrate their debates with Mohammed cartoons of any kind, despite such cartoons often being at the centre of the debates. Terrorism, Islam and freedom values were shared concepts of reference, quantitatively. However, the debates were also, not surprisingly, framed from national perspectives with the *Jyllands-Posten* Mohammed cartoon crisis being a more pronounced frame of reference in Denmark and the Lars Vilks cartoon controversy more pronounced in Sweden, thus exemplifying how transnational media events were domesticated (Eide, Kunelius & Phillips 2008). The cultural and editorial pages constituted the main debate venues in Sweden, while in Denmark, debates were played out in the debate pages. This suggests that Swedish cultural pages apply a more political approach than the Danish ones (see also Riegert, Roosvall & Widholm 2015), although *Politiken*'s cultural section represents an important debate venue in the Danish material (see also Kristensen 2016). Hence, cultural personas (e.g., authors, critics) are

more common voices in the Swedish debates; they are also present in *Politiken* but not in *Jyllands-Posten*. The findings thus underline the existing profiles of the newspapers.

While conditions for Jews were the main concern in the Copenhagen-case, freedom of expression, was very much present in both cases, and dominated the Paris-case. This emphasis also characterised the Mohammed cartoon controversies of the mid-2000s, where freedom of expression constituted a central point in both countries, despite the trigger events and their media and political handling being quite different (Larsson & Lindekilde 2009). We can see some traces of these national distinctions in the 2015 cases, too. The qualitative analysis revealed that in the Danish discourse, violence and threat are more prominent than in the Swedish material. This corresponds to a stronger Danish emphasis on Islam(/ism) and Muslims being placed on the bad side of polarisations. The Swedish range of 'bad' is more complex and varied, including not only Islam(/ism) and Muslims but also right-wing extremists (sometimes including Muslims on the good side). This in turn corresponds to the Swedish material being more focused on humanity, whereas the Danish material highlights the home nation more. The latter determines the more pronounced focus in the Danish material on democracy, which is viewed through a home nation prism (linked to one of the 2015 cases taking place in Denmark, and to the previous Mohammed cartoon crisis originating in Denmark). The Swedish material instead involves a wider variety of reference points and is less connected to the immediate circumstances of the events (this also applies to the Paris-case, which is not nationally connected to neither Sweden nor Denmark).

The qualitative analysis also suggests a see-sawing between deliberative and antagonistic tendencies in a deliberative strive for consensus (all should embrace *Western* enlightenment; there is one right way to do things), which can turn antagonistic when 'others' do not adhere to one's own values (Culturalism/clash of cultures register, the polarisations, most emphasized in the Danish material). Agonistic approaches seem more pronounced in the less stereotypically polarised Swedish material. National differences should not be overstated, however. It is mainly *Jyllands-Posten* that applies antagonism, as exemplified by its exclusive use of the Culturalism/clash of cultures register, and there are Muslim-determined polarisations in the Swedish material, too. The latter, together with later political developments in Sweden, such as the underlining of Swedish values by both leftist and conservative/liberal parties in Swedish politics (Summer 2016, relating to the Culturalism/clash of cultures register), may illustrate Wallentin & Ekecrantz's (2007) contention that Sweden moves towards abandoning positive views on multiculturalism.

In terms of differences between *cultural* and *editorial/op-ed material*, cultural opinion articles are more common in Sweden and, to some extent, in Danish *Politiken.* The qualitative analysis reveals that the *Key concept* 'Open society' is highlighted particularly in cultural material (*Dagens Nyheter*, *Politiken*). This emphasis on openness corresponds to the often more open character of the cultural articles, as illustrated by the multiplicity of reference points (particularly in Swedish cultural articles), and the more varied use of registers (cultural articles overall). The Political Philosophy,

the Socialist and the Body registers, for example, occur only in cultural articles. They are also the most distinctive registers, emphasising a) philosophical aspects (Political philosophy register); b) a clear political stand, in terms of 'the political' rather than 'politics' (Mouffe 2005) (Socialist register); and c) a pronounced style that is *literary* (metaphorical) and *vivid* (body register), which may facilitate a deeper understanding of the debated issues. Furthermore, these registers are deployed by specific cultural editors, illustrating how individual cultural commentators may influence both style and understandings while at the same time being important trademarks of particular news brands (Kristensen & From 2015, Riegert, Roosvall & Widholm 2015). In accordance with this, some differences between close-read editorial and cultural material pertain *mainly to certain newspapers*. The *Key concept* 'Open society' is used twice/article solely in *Dagens Nyheter's* and *Politiken's cultural material*, while 'Muslims' and 'Western' appear at least twice/article only in *Jyllands-Posten's* and *Aftonbladet's cultural material*. The use of 'Muslim' and 'Western' may relate to what can be considered stereotypical polarisations. While such polarisations may appear mainly because they are being *criticised* in *Aftonbladet*, this newspaper and *Jyllands-Posten* come together in a 'similarity within the difference': The most distinct differences between Denmark and Sweden seem to be constituted by *Jyllands-Posten* pulling in one direction, the Culturalism/nationalism direction, while *Aftonbladet*'s cultural section is pulling in another, the socialist direction. *Aftonbladet*'s cultural editor mocks criticism directed at political correctness, a criticism voiced by *Jyllands-Posten*. While some of this could have been anticipated due to political leanings and publicist traditions, it is still noteworthy, since the newspapers were chosen based on their extensive reach and prominent position in the countries' media landscapes.

To sum up, cultural opinion articles are the most distinctive regarding political opinion, style and depth. They also use less 'us vs. them' rhetoric than editorials and thus manage to be distinctive without being as antagonistically polarised as the editorials. Hence, we point to *cultural opinion* articles as constituting 'the soul of the newspapers' (see Nord 1998), since they are the most distinctive and nuanced. They are also the most 'political' (ideological) as opposed to the 'politics' (institutional politics) of the editorials. They thus play an important role in a democracy that does not eschew existing ideological conflict but rather antagonism; in other words, they play an important part in agonistic democracy.

Notes

1. This lack may be due to existing studies' theoretical and methodological demarcations, i.e., lack of distinctions between 'politics' and 'the political' (Mouffe 2005, 2013).
2. For Mouffe (2005, 2013) the significant fruitful agonistic conflict is between left and right, rather than between cultures (where conflict tends to become antagonistic).
3. Both newspapers are part of JP/Politikens Hus, founded in 2003 due to a merger of A/S Dagbladet Politiken and Jyllands-Posten A/S. The newspapers have maintained editorial independence and preserved their distinct and historically grounded profiles.

4. Readers Q2 and Q3 2015: http://tns-gallup.dk/work/media/laesertal/L%C3%A6sertal%202k3k%20 2015.pdf (accessed 21.12.15).
5. In a few Danish cases (*Politiken*), cultural commentaries were published in weekend supplements (such as PS) of a broader culture-societal nature.
6. Opinion articles by editors in chiefs and cultural editors are included even if appearing on news pages, which happens a few times in the extraordinary situations that the Paris and Copenhagen attacks constituted.
7. Some articles examined qualitatively are thus written before the attacks' second phases: the ones targeting Jews. Results should be read with this in mind. The first opinion piece by *Dagens Nyheter's* cultural editor on the Paris-case appears in the news section, clearly stating that it is by the cultural editor.
8. In *Politiken*, editorials are placed on the front page of the first section, while being placed on the first debate page in *Jyllands-Posten*. Danish editorials are unsigned (or signed by marques), which is also often the case in Swedish *Dagens Nyheter*. In *Aftonbladet*, editorials are typically signed, which makes it more difficult to discern lead editorials if more editorials are published the same day. Similar differences characterise chronicles: Swedish newspapers often publish more chronicles the same day, authored by staff members or non-staff members, while Danish newspapers only bring one chronicle/ day, typically by a non-staff member. Chronicles are usually labelled chronicles in both countries.
9. The editor in chief, Jørn Mikkelsen is interviewed in the newspaper about why *Jyllands-Posten* did not reprint *Charlie Hebdo's* cartoons. This interview is not included in the sample, since it is not a commentary article.
10. The Danish/Swedish terms were interpreted as follows: Freedom of expression/press or similar (free expressions, express freely); democracy or similar (democratic, democrat); freedom or similar (free in relation to values such as free thought, a free society, freedom ideals); Muhammed-controversy 2005/06 (if reference to this event or security measures taken after the controversy); Lars Vilks (is the Swedish artist mentioned?); terror or similar (terror attack, terrorist(s), terrorised, fear of terror etc.); Islam or similar (Islamist, Islamic, Islamism, Muslims, Muslim); Judaism or similar (Jews, Jewish, synagogue, anti-Semitism); meta-coverage (is the media's coverage of the events addressed?); in the Copenhagen-case, if it links to the Paris-case (mentioning *Charlie Hebdo*, or more implicitly 'the Paris events'). The Islam category turned out too inclusive and could have been more fine-masked, e.g., distinguishing between Islam and Islamists.
11. The mention of Islam(-ism)/Muslim is not enough for it to be identified as a religious register.
12. The War Register is present in all examined Danish editorials, while occuring in editorials and cultural opinion articles (the latter in *Aftonbladet*) in Sweden.
13. The already discussed Culturalism/clash of civilizations register also occurs only twice. A register occurring only once has been excluded from the discussion: Nature (*Dagens Nyheter,* editorial).

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8.

Journalists as Tastemakers

An analysis of the coverage of the TV series Borgen in a British, Swedish and Danish newsbrand

Kirsten Sparre & Unni From

Abstract

This article presents a comparative content analysis of the ways in which journalists have engaged with and defined what counts as good taste and cool culture in relation to the internationally successful Danish TV series *Borgen* in three national newsbrands: *The Telegraph* from United Kingdom, *Svenska Dagbladet* from Sweden and *Berlingske* from Denmark. Taking our point of departure in the theoretical concept of the 'cultural intermediary', we demonstrate on the one hand that the coverage is anchored in traditional cultural criticism, showing for example how all three newsbrands use reviews and previews to evaluate *Borgen* as both 'good taste' and (more rarely) 'bad taste'. On the other hand, the analytical findings indicate that tastemaking is a very complex process and that journalistic tastemaking also occurs and is performed outside the cultural pages in articles characterised by hybridisation in which fictional and real narratives are combined.

Keywords: journalism, journalists, TV critique, hybridisation, journalistification, cultural intermediaries

TV criticism is an important part of contemporary cultural journalism; but so far, academia has paid relatively little attention to the roles that journalists play when they write about television programmes (Rixon 2012: 389). Rixon (2011) and Lotz (2008) have charted the emergence of TV criticism as a particular beat within British and American media respectively, but in this chapter we will move beyond the prism of the television beat in order to provide a much broader understanding of how journalists engage with television content. Inspired by theories about cultural intermediaries and research on how cultural intermediaries are central agents in defining what counts as good taste (Maguire & Matthews 2014: 1), we will use the Danish TV series *Borgen* as an example and show how this series was covered by journalists working for newsbrands[1] in Denmark, Sweden, and Britain. In all three newsbrands, *Borgen* turned up in articles in genres related to television criticism (such as reviews or previews). But it also appeared in news, interviews, features and portraits, and in both the cultural

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pages and sections that did not deal specifically with TV series (such as lifestyle sections, politics and news quizzes). Journalists inside and outside the beat of television criticism acted as tastemakers for *Borgen* in a myriad of ways, showing on the one hand that television criticism as a beat is undergoing a process of journalistification (Benson 1999, Jaakkola 2015a), with many different aspects of a TV series being turned into articles; and on the other hand that a cultural product such as a TV series can lead to what Baym terms hybridisation within other journalistic beats (Baym 2016). Hybridisation happens when news and fictional narratives blend, for instance when a journalist uses examples from *Borgen* to convey a point in an article about real-life politics. However, as we will argue in our conclusion, the fact that many journalists perform tastemaking acts on behalf of *Borgen* does not make all journalists potential cultural journalists or cultural intermediaries.

Cultural intermediaries and tastemaking in journalism

Since the early 2000s, Danish and Nordic TV series have successfully entered the international television market and are now part of what scholars term 'cultural globalisation', which is a process characterised by "growing international diffusion, exchange, and intermingling of cultural goods and media products" (Janssen, Kuipers & Verboord 2008: 720). The success of the TV series is related to many aspects of drama production, distribution and of course the quality of TV series (e.g. Jensen, Nielsen & Waade 2016), but it also raises interesting questions about how journalists among other 'cultural mediators' (Janssen & Verboord 2015) promote and evaluate Danish TV series, not only in a Danish, but also in an international context and thereby "add symbolic value to culture" (Janssen & Verboord 2015: 2). Using different terminologies scholars have pointed out how those acting as 'cultural mediators' (Janssen & Verboord 2015) or 'cultural intermediaries' (Maguire & Matthews 2012, 2010; Matthews 2014) have legitimising power and act as 'tastemakers'. Even though these scholars use different terminologies they both refer to work originally provided by Bourdieu, who defined cultural intermediaries as "the producers of cultural programmes on TV and radio or the critics of 'quality' newspapers and magazines and all the writer-journalists and journalist-writers" (1984: 325). However, Bourdieu's conceptualisation of cultural intermediaries has been criticised for its narrow focus and approach (Maguire & Matthews 2010), and over time scholars have added more agents and activities to their analyses of the work of cultural intermediaries. In their edited volume *The Cultural Intermediaries Reader*, Maguire and Matthews describe cultural intermediaries as the "tastemakers defining what counts as good taste and cool culture in today's marketplace" (2014: 1) and thereby provide a very broad conceptualisation of cultural intermediaries that makes it possible to identify many different types of cultural intermediary occupations such as advertising, public relations, branding, arts promotion, fashion as well as journalism.

Maguire & Matthews (2012) argue that all cultural intermediaries perform tastemaking acts and construct value "by framing how others – end consumers, as well as other market actors, including other cultural intermediaries – engage with goods, affecting and effecting others' orientation towards those goods as legitimate" (2012: 552). They do so by drawing on professional expertise in taste and value within their specific cultural fields and through an arsenal of devices and resources that they deploy in negotiating constraints to accomplishing their agendas (Maguire & Matthews 2014: 2).

Although it is possible to discuss the degree to which journalists writing about a TV series such as *Borgen* will identify with a label as a market actor and have the same clear intention of (positive) tastemaking on behalf of the series as the series' distributor or marketing agents, a cultural intermediary approach is still useful in this study as it encourages us to place the cultural intermediaries – in this case journalists writing about *Borgen* – at the centre of the research process, recognise their agency and study their daily practices which in this approach is referred to as material practices, dispositions and devices (Matthews 2014: 146). We will return to these concepts below.

Moving on to acts of tastemaking, Janssen and Verboord (2015) have identified widespread mediating practices within the literature on gatekeepers and cultural mediators. More specifically, they have identified seven tastemaking practices, namely: Gatekeeping; co-creating/editing; connecting/networking; selling/marketing; distributing; evaluating, classifying and making meaning; and censoring, protecting and supporting. The overall tastemaking practices carried out by journalists in relation to a TV series are related to gatekeeping and evaluating, classifying and making meaning, which in the literature review by Janssen and Verboord is closely connected to reviewers and critics (2015: 7). However, adopting a much broader understanding of who can be a journalistic intermediary on behalf of a TV series, also produces new insights into what can be called a tastemaking practice as we will show below.

The cultural intermediary is an overall theoretical framework and as our field of study is a cultural product it should also be based on a more detailed understanding of journalistic practices within cultural criticism and (cultural) journalism in a contemporary media landscape and the institutional settings and contexts of which they are part. Below we will outline key theoretical descriptions of the roles of the cultural journalist and cultural critic based on existing research, focusing on how a process of journalistification is central in grasping how the coverage of a TV series is found in many different genres and across different sections of newsbrands.

Journalistification of criticism and cultural journalism

Media coverage of culture is typically associated with both cultural criticism and cultural journalism (e.g. Kristensen & From 2015c), and even though the coverage of TV may be considered to differ substantially from other cultural beats covered in journalism (Lotz 2008: 20), it seems relevant to place TV criticism generally and the

coverage of TV series more specifically within the realm of research into cultural criticism and cultural journalism.

Cultural criticism and cultural journalism have often been accused of being in crisis and decline in public debate as well as in academic research (e.g. Bech-Karlsen 1991, Lund 2005, Elkins 2003, McDonald 2007). Whether this is a crisis of quality rather than quantity is contested in the literature. For instance, some scholars have shown that the number of pages devoted to culture and arts is growing (Verboord & Janssen 2015, Kristensen & From 2011), while others point to a decreasing number of reviews (Jaakkola 2015b). In her overview of studies on cultural journalism, Jaakkola (2015a) demonstrates that the crisis narrative is explained by tendencies within cultural journalism towards either elitisation, accusing cultural journalism for being too elitist (Jaakkola 2015: 546), or tendencies of popularisation, commercialisation, journalistification and disengagement (ibid). However, Nordic researchers (e.g. Kristensen & From 2011, Knapskog & Larsen 2008, Hellman & Jaakkola 2012, Riegert, Roosvall & Widholm 2015) and Dutch researchers (Janssen, Kuipers & Verboord 2008, Verboord & Janssen 2015) in particular have argued that other discourses than those of decline may enhance our understanding of the specific subfield of cultural journalism. Kristensen & From (e.g. 2011), for example, suggest a more non-normative mapping of the field, and researchers have approached the development of the beat with different theoretical frameworks such as mediatisation (e.g. Kristensen & From 2015b) and Bourdieu's field theory (e.g. Hovden & Knapskog 2008).

However, whether scholars in the field agree or disagree on the characterisation of cultural journalism as being in decline or crisis, they seem to agree that the development of journalism in general and cultural journalism more specifically is related to a changed media landscape (Kristensen & From 2015c). This new media landscape is dominated by market constraints rather than public service ideals in which the logics of media institutions aiming at providing cultural journalism for target audiences can explain why popularisation, commercialisation, journalistification and disengagement (Jaakkola 2015a) are central characteristics of current studies of cultural journalism.

The concept of journalistification is of particular interest here. According to Jaakkola (2015a), journalistification is associated with a "marginalisation or 'ghettoisation' of criticism" (ibid. 548) and denotes a situation in which a journalistic paradigm rather than an aesthetic paradigm dominates cultural journalism (Hellman & Jaakkola 2012). Put another way: Culture is increasingly being covered just as any other beat and critique is replaced by traditional journalistic genres such as news or interviews which are based on traditional news criteria (Galtung & Ruge 1965) and the newsworthiness of the story in question.

More specifically, the process of journalistification has also characterised the development of television criticism as a specific journalistic beat. When journalistic coverage of television programmes was introduced in the 1950's and 1960's, it was dominated by critics who had theatre and film as their point of departure for evaluating television programmes (Rixon 2014: 327, Lotz 2008: 24), and the reviews were

written "from those on the top of the cultural hierarchy" (Lotz 2008: 25). In a Nordic context this tendency is confirmed by Kristensen and From (2015b). Rixon's analyses of the development of TV criticism show that as the dominant culture became more accepting of popular culture, critics were "finding more popular and engaging ways to write about and review television. The discourse of television critics, in this way, developed over time through their interaction with the needs of the newspaper and television industries, and the wider culture" (Rixon 2014: 328). In fact, in his book on the development of television criticism in Britain, Rixon also includes what he terms 'soft television criticism'. This is soft news that touches on television without being reviews or previews, and which is often but not exclusively found in tabloids (Rixon 2011). In this way both traditional criticism and other forms of journalism are considered to be central to the "valorisation and aesthetic mobility of a variety of cultural forms" (Janssen & Verboord 2015: 12). Thus, we have in our analysis included articles, which evaluate the series and its qualities as a TV drama following traditional criteria of judging aesthetic products (including descriptive, interpretative and evaluative elements, see e.g. van Rees 1987) as well as articles that use *Borgen* as a frame of reference to discuss taste and lifestyle more broadly.

In addition to journalistification we will argue that other concepts such as image culture (Jansson 2002) and not least hybridisation (Baym 2016) can serve as relevant analytical frameworks when examining journalistic pieces where tastemaking is more implicit than it is in reviews.

Hybridisation in journalism: blending fact and fiction

As we will demonstrate in our analysis, many journalistic pieces have *Borgen* not as their primary object but more as an intertextual frame to highlight political tendencies, lifestyle or cultural trends. Following Baym, we will argue that long-form drama series and the coverage of such series represent a blend of fictional and factional storytelling (Baym 2016). Baym defines this hybridity as "blending: an integration of that which, through cultural logics and institutional practices, was previously understood to be and maintained as distinct and separate. Hybridisation is a loss of distinction, a process of de-differentiation." (Baym 2016: 2). The concept of hybridity leads to reflections on how TV drama and journalism can engage with the social and political world in new ways (Baym 2016: 13) and as we will see in the analysis, hybridity is displayed in cases where for example a news story on Danish politics mixes narratives from *Borgen* with discourses from real politics.

Hybridity may be related to the development of an image culture (Jansson 2002) in which media and consumer culture are no longer separable categories (Jansson 2002: 26). Jansson argues that

> What unites media culture and consumer culture, then, is that both concepts deal with the hermeneutic processes through which consumer products (that is, commodities) and media products become cultural (via their incorporation within webs of significance) and, conversely, how these products enter into and become influential for the formation of webs of significance as such (Jansson 2002: 10).

Therefore, cultural products and consumer goods within an image culture are embedded in complex intertextual patterns interacting with practices and communities of everyday life (Jansson 2002: 11).

Thus, TV series and the coverage of series can make up a circuit and interplay of negotiating taste and values. TV series may display different patterns of values and taste; and as journalists take up or select some of these issues, they can depict the series or products in the series as good or bad taste. For example, journalists may consider *Borgen* to be 'good', because it describes women's difficulties having both a career and a family or journalists may select consumer-related commodities that are featured in a series and legitimise these as markers of taste. This is what happened to the sweater worn by the lead character Sarah Lund in the Danish TV serial *The Killing*. The circuit also works the other way around as script writers for TV series pick up cultural and social issues that have received widespread media attention and turn them into dramaturgy. Finally, journalism on TV series in itself also becomes a commodity product – entertaining and creating value for readers. In that perspective the cultural intermediaries are producing cultural items while displaying taste produced in TV series.

As we will see in the analysis, the coverage of *Borgen,* on the one hand exemplifies the traditional coverage of TV series in genres such as the review providing tastemaking based on aesthetic evaluation criteria (van Rees 1987). On the other hand the coverage is exemplifying how it is almost impossible to distinguish between TV series as commodity and cultural product, the mediation of the TV series, and the real political context in terms of tastemaking. In other words, the origins of the tastemaking become increasingly blurred.

Research design

Methodologically, the study of journalists as cultural intermediaries focuses on the agency and actions of journalists in shaping journalistic texts (Matthews 2014: 146). Cultural intermediary research often employs ethnographic methods, but in this case we will trace the framing actions of journalists writing about *Borgen* through an analysis of the practices and devices journalists employ in their writings where we as researchers have the same position in relation to journalistic tastemaking as the readers of the newsbrands. How we do this is detailed below after a brief introduction to the three newsbrands we have chosen for study: the Danish *Berlingske*, the Swedish *Svenska Dagbladet* and the British *The Telegraph*.

Our interest in the study of journalism about TV is rooted in questions about the role that journalists can play in creating success and legitimising a Danish TV series in a new market abroad. However, as there are no studies of how Danish journalists contribute to the success of Danish TV series either, we decided to employ a comparative approach in order to determine whether there are any similarities between journalistic tastemaking that can be ascribed to professional dispositions amongst journalists generally, and whether there are any differences that can be explained by national cultures and contexts for watching a particular TV series. *Borgen* was produced in Denmark and broadcast as a mainstream TV series on the main public broadcasting service station, DR 1, where it attracted many viewers with a share of 52-53 per cent of all viewers (Hammerich 2015: 267). *Borgen* was then sold to more than 40 countries (Jensen 2016), and we have picked two countries where viewers and journalists have different experiences of Danish TV series. One country is Sweden, which is culturally close to Denmark with a similar media system (Hallin & Mancini 2004, Syvertsen et al. 2014), and where viewers often get the opportunity to watch Danish TV series. *Borgen* was shown in Sweden by the Swedish public service broadcaster SVT. Our other choice is Britain, which has a different media system (Hallin & Mancini 2004) and where Danish TV series were a novelty. *Borgen* was only the second Danish TV series to attract attention after the very popular TV serial *The Killing*. Like *The Killing*, *Borgen* was shown on BBC Four – a public service niche channel for innovative and intellectually challenging programmes on a wide range of subjects (bbc.co.uk, n.d.).

Within the three countries, we chose newsbrands that share similar characteristics in their respective media markets: they are all quality omnibus newsbrands covering national and international news, politics, business and culture, allowing us to follow their *Borgen* coverage across different sections. Politically all three newsbrands are centre-right, catering to affluent audiences that value cultural experiences; and they occupy a position as second or third in terms of circulation and daily readers across channels amongst quality newsbrands in their national markets (Newsworks 2016, *Daily Telegraph* n.d., Berlingske Media n.d., *Svenska Dagbladet* n.d.).

The choice of *Borgen* is based on two considerations. Firstly, in order to study tastemaking by journalists in connection with a cultural product, it was important to choose a TV series that had been the subject of considerable media attention in several countries. Secondly, with its focus on the professional and personal lives of politicians, spin doctors and journalists in a Danish context, the series was at first glance an unlikely candidate for international success. However, at the same time the series addresses a number of issues of importance to people living in the 21st century, such as questions about life-work balance, gender issues, principles of political governance, the relationship between citizens and politicians, and the role of the media. This complexity provided many ways for journalists to engage with the series, which was important for our broad approach to identifying the different roles journalists can play in relation to legitimising TV series.

Our empirical data consists of articles that touch on *Borgen* in one way or another from a week before the first season was broadcast in the respective countries to the end of October 2015 (see table 1 for exact dates). We identified the articles through a Danish, a Swedish and an international database and as these databases were not constructed in the same way, we included all the articles only once, even if some of them appeared in both print and digital form. The key search term was Borgen, and after excluding articles that did not touch on the TV series, the data material consisted of a total of 774 articles across the three newsbrands.

With a focus on journalistic actions, the first key question is: Who were the journalists that contributed to tastemaking relating to *Borgen* in the three newsbrands? Employing the principle of agency, we have included all the articles that mentioned *Borgen* during our sampling period regardless of genres or sections. The criterion for inclusion in our sample was that the mentioning of *Borgen* had to be the result of journalistic agency, with a journalist making a specific choice to cover the TV series either as their main focus or by referring to *Borgen* in other contexts or using figures from the series as examples to illustrate a point. We have excluded articles in which *Borge*n was brought into the text by others, such as an interviewee who says that her favourite weekend pastime is to catch up on old episodes of *Borgen*. Working backwards from the articles, we then identified the individual journalists who wrote about *Borgen*, how many articles they wrote each, and what journalistic beats they were working on. This provided us with a detailed picture of where in the newsbrand the tastemaking connected to *Borgen* took place, and how it was achieved.

The second action we looked at relates to timing: When did journalistic tastemaking take place in relation to the series? Instead of focusing exclusively on the periods immediately surrounding the broadcasting of the different seasons of the series, we covered the whole period from a week before the first season was broadcast in the respective countries to the end of October 2015. We coded the articles for their timing and whether they appeared during a broadcasting season, between seasons, or after the series concluded in 2013 in all three countries. This made it possible to see if and how journalists relate to the series outside broadcasting periods, and to assess the endurance of *Borgen* as a tastemaking frame of reference.

A third action relates to material practices which Matthews defines as the production processes of gathering, selecting and presenting information (2014). These are the everyday working practices of journalists, and here we focus on the outcomes of journalistic practices and decision making that are visible in the text, such as choices of genre, platform for publication (digital or print), section for publication, and the themes addressed in the text. Looking for material practices in the material allowed us to explore the degree of journalistification in covering *Borgen*, but it also identified interesting examples of hybridisation.

A fourth action that can be explored through textual analysis involves the writing devices that journalists use when they produce a journalistic text. According to Matthews (2014), devices are the techniques used in the production of the individual

journalistic output in order to make the reader understand and/or enjoy the text. All journalists use devices in the production of texts, but here we were interested in identifying the specific devices that journalists used when they acted as tastemakers on behalf of *Borgen*. There is no set formula for deploying devices whose use depends largely on choices made by individual journalists in particular situations, so we performed an open coding of devices as we encountered them and later organised them into groups.

Here are just a few examples from a long list of devices that appeared frequently in the material:

1. The good example: When journalists use examples from *Borgen* to describe something else to their readers – for instance the importance of hairstyle.
2. Comparisons to other TV series: Comparisons to other series at series level – for instance: "Just as good as Mad Men".
3. Intertextual references: Comparisons or references to characters or plots in other series.
4. Reference to elite viewers: When journalists point out that high-ranking politicians or celebrities also watch *Borgen*.
5. Effect on journalists: When journalists include themselves in the story or describe how it affects their own lives.
6. Comparisons to reality: When journalists compare events in *Borgen* to real-life events.

It turned out that devices are a useful tool to understand how different types of journalists employed their specific forms of journalistic expertise in their acts of tastemaking, as there were differences between the devices employed by designated TV critics and those used by journalists working on other beats. It also turned out that certain devices were key ingredients in the process of hybridisation. We will return to both of these points in the analysis below.

Analysis – acts of tastemaking in three newsbrands

We begin our analysis by providing an overview of the total number of articles collected from the three newsbrands and considering what we can learn about the cultural intermediary work of journalists when these numbers are combined with different time periods and the number of unique bylines.

The broad approach to data collection turned up a large number of articles that touched on *Borgen* in one way or another in the different newsbrands. Table 1 shows the total number of articles without distinguishing between articles in which *Borgen* was the main topic and articles in which the series mainly served as a device in an-

Table 1. Number of articles and number of unique bylines

Period/byline	Berlingske, DK		The Telegraph, UK		Svenska Dagbladet, S	
Season 1	19.09.10-05.12.10	66	01.01.12-11.02.12	19	26.01.11-13.04.11	3
Between 1&2	06.12.10-17.09.11	38	12.02.12-29.12.12	35	14.04.11-05.05.12	4
Season 2	18.09.11-04.12.11	44	30.12.12-09.02.13	24	06.05.12-30.07.12	1
Between 2&3	05.12.11-24.12.12	98	10.02.13-08.11.13	16	31.07.12-14.04.13	20
Season 3	25.12.12-17.03.13	104	09.11.13-21.12.13	25	15.04.13-08.07.13	8
After season 3	18.03.13-31.10.15	198	22.12.13-31.10.15	46	09.07.13-31.10.15	25
Unique bylines		165		61		26
No. of articles		548		165		61

other context. Journalists working for the newsbrand from *Borgen's* home country, *Berlingske*, produced 548 *Borgen*-related articles; whereas *Borgen* coverage was less prominent in *The Telegraph* with 165 articles and fairly modest in *Svenska Dagbladet*, where Borgen appeared in 61 articles.

Table 1 also shows how coverage was distributed in relation to the broadcasting of the different seasons of the series. As shown in table 1, the specific dates for all of these periods varied from country to country; but it is possible to make two important observations here. Firstly, acts of tastemaking related to *Borgen* were not limited to the periods during which the broadcasting of individual seasons provided journalists with new material and a news hook for other stories. In all three newsbrands, coverage also took place between seasons and after the conclusion of the series. Secondly, *Borgen* appears to be an enduring frame of reference that is mobilised even years after the final episodes of the series were shown in all three countries in 2013.

Finally, table 1 shows the number of unique bylines identified during the coding process. 165 different journalists wrote about *Borgen* in *Berlingske,* 61 journalists in *The Telegraph* and 26 journalists in *Svenska Dagbladet.* Apart from the newsbrands designated TV reviewers, most journalists in the sample only produced one or two *Borgen*-related articles each.

In the following we will go into more detail about the genres and themes, material practices and devices that journalists employed in their coverage of *Borgen*.

TV criticism of Borgen

The review is not a dominating genre in the material (see table 2 below), but it nevertheless continues to be an important contribution to the circulation of taste in contemporary media culture (Kristensen & From 2011, Kristensen & From 2015c).

In the data material on *Borgen* we find reviews in all three newsbrands that discuss the qualities of the series. They are written by journalists, some of whom have expert knowledge in the cultural beat and/or TV drama whereas others do not. A case in point

is *Berlingske*, where *Borgen* was reviewed mainly by two reviewers. In the first season, Karen Margrethe Schelin for example wrote two reviews. Karen Margrethe Schelin[2] studied at the Danish School of Media and Journalism and has covered a broad range of cultural topics (like gender and fashion), and does not have specific educational expertise in the field of culture and television, even though she has a lot of experience reviewing and commenting on television. Meanwhile, Jacob Steen Olsen, who wrote reviews for the second and third season, has degrees in dramaturgy and media studies[3]; and even though he writes journalistic pieces in many different cultural beats, he has an expertise grounded in his educational background and therefore could be termed a 'classic cultural intermediary'.

To exemplify, the reviews in *Berlingske* comprised considerations about genres and whether actors performed as convincing characters or not. Moreover, *Borgen* was evaluated according to its capability to create identification – for example: "The series has many qualities […] many people will be able to recognise and identify with the everyday situations that these top politicians experience in their private lives" (Olsen 2011). The reviews also considered themes taken up by the series such as equality and gender, and discussed whether these themes mirrored existing conflicts in real life (Olsen 2011). The reviews were typically written in a formal style, and in general evaluated *Borgen* as a mainstream phenomenon aligned with rather than challenging international production values.

TV critics at *Svenska Dagbladet* did not follow the ups and downs of the series through regular reviews, despite an enthusiastic review of one of the first episodes of *Borgen* headlined "Danish series sets TV screens on fire" (Amster 2011). In fact, it was two years before the second of two reviews appeared at the start of the broadcasting of the third season. The reviews were written by Harry Amster, who has reviewed televison for many years and also has a special interest in music,[4] and Anna Hellsten, who is a freelance journalist writing on popular culture in general (e.g. food, fashion, music, film, and TV).[5]

Both of these reviews were in a similar style to those printed in *Berlingske* concerning themselves mainly with issues of dramaturgy. In the first review, Harry Amster discussed the series' mix of classical drama with soap dramaturgy and how the director and actors managed to create characters that the viewers cared about, concluding by calling the series "good craftsmanship" (Amster 2011). In the second review, Anna Hellsten reflected on the positive reception of the series at home and argued that TV series should be assessed as TV fiction, rather than on their ability to reflect reality. In that sense the evaluations were based on clear professional criteria for reviews (van Rees 1987), even though the journalists claim their authority from cultural journalism in general rather than from the specific beat of reviewing cultural products.

Whilst the reviewers at *Svenska Dagbladet* approached *Borgen* on only a few occasions, *Borgen* was covered more intensely by the designated TV critics at *The Telegraph*. All three seasons were shown in two-episode instalments on BBC Four, and these instalments were consistently picked out for reviewing. The task of reviewing

was shared by a number of reviewers who were all overwhelmingly positive in their descriptions of the qualities of the series. In contrast to the reviews in *Berlingske* and *Svenska Dagbladet*, *The Telegraph's* reviewers adopted a conversational style in their writing using a lively and engaging voice to recount their personal experience of watching the latest instalment. The reviews often created the impression that the TV critic was sitting on the couch next to the reader in order to discuss what to think about developments in the series, as in this review by the renowned TV critic Clive James,[6] who wrote the majority of *Borgen* reviews in *The Telegraph*:

> Devoted viewers of the marvellous Danish political serial *Borgen* (BBC Four) are now faced with the possibility that they will have to down-rate the tail-chasing Kasper (Pilou Asbæk) from a louse to a mere cad. We can now be sure that his bad behaviour all goes back to an abused childhood. (James 2013)

A key characteristic of reviews in all three newsbrands was the use of the device of making references to events, people and other media texts that were external to the series. This web of writing devices constituted tastemaking in different ways.

One very strong tastemaking device was the use of intertextual references in the form of references to other TV series, specific characters or plotlines in other TV series or even other cultural products such as books or films. Particularly in *The Telegraph* there were many intertextual references between *Borgen* and the other successful Danish TV serial, *The Killing,* which was broadcast around the same time and paved the way for Danish drama on British television. In this way, journalists confirmed that *Borgen* was a high-quality product in line with other successful Danish drama productions, the so-called 'Nordic Noir tradition' (see e.g. Jensen, Nielsen & Waade 2016), which "appeal to audiences that are likely to include the more influential and trendsetting segments of the population; that is, the segments with a high cultural, intellectual and possibly financial capital" (Jensen 2016, no page numbers).

Being picked out of the vast range of TV series and becoming a benchmark is a tastemaking device that is not bestowed on many series. But it happened relatively often to *Borgen* in the British context, and our sample contains a number of articles where *Borgen* later became a benchmark for other series too. The catalogue of texts that are suitable for intertextual references obviously depends on particular national and cultural contexts. In Sweden, *Svenska Dagbladet's* reviewer was able to draw on a much wider catalogue of TV series to benchmark against because his readers had been exposed to more Danish series on Swedish television than the British audience:

> In some ways I think it comes down to the ability of the Danish directors and actors to create real characters that I like and care about. Just like the previous series *Krøniken* and *Nikolaj & Julie.* You become emotionally involved. (Amster 2011)

Other devices in the reviews involved comparing characters and events in the series to real-life politicians and their actions, or including frames of reference that were shared by a given national audience such as a remark in a review in *Berlingske* that "DR

has probably regretted that they did not do a drama series on Hanne Vibeke Holst's novels" (Schelin 2010). For readers, these devices provide a context for understanding *Borgen*, but they also serve explicitly as tastemaking for the series because they show how relevant the reviewers believe the series to be as a portrayal of politics and modern life. However, it should be pointed out that references to real-life politicians also appeared in other genres across the three newsbrands, as we will see in the next part of the analysis.

Journalistification – tastemaking outside the review

As outlined above, journalistification is a key feature of the cultural beat. Our analysis of media coverage of *Borgen* confirms this tendency and shows that the majority of cultural intermediary work about *Borgen* took place outside dedicated TV reviews.

Table 2. Genres in *Borgen* coverage (per cent)

Genres	Berlingske, DK	The Telegraph, UK	Svenska Dagbladet, S
Reviews	3	21	11
News	21	15	42
Interviews	11	6	5
Features	6	15	2
Columns	8	8	2
Profiles	6	0	2
Other genres	45	35	36
Total per cent	100	100	100
No. of articles	548	165	61

Table 2 shows how often *Borgen* was either the main topic of articles or used as a device in articles from a select number of journalistic genres. The numbers reflect similarities as well as differences. It holds true that reviews are only a small part of the total coverage related to *Borgen* in all three newsbrands, and the numbers also confirm existing research that other genres are becoming increasingly important in cultural journalism (Verboord & Janssen 2015, Jaakkola 2015b, Kristensen & From 2011). However, reviews play a larger part in the overall coverage in *The Telegraph* and *Svenska Dagbladet* than in *Berlingske*. News is the most dominant genre in *Svenska Dagbladet* and *Berlingske*, whereas in *The Telegraph, Borgen* was mentioned in features almost as often as in news. Interviews and profiles were a major part of the coverage in *Berlingske* but did not appear very often in *The Telegraph* and *Svenska Dagbladet*.

The dominance of the news genre is of course related to the long period of sampling in the sense that reviewing only took place in close proximity to the broadcasting of the seasons and episodes, while news was produced continuously throughout the period.

The news related to *Borgen* covered a diversity of themes in all three newsbrands. In *Berlingske*, a key theme was the success of *Borgen* in terms of audience numbers, international awards and the number of TV stations in the international market that bought the series. Success in this broad sense was actually mentioned in 78 articles and exemplifies how the commercial aspects of a TV series can also be considered newsworthy.

News was also the dominant genre in the sample in *Svenska Dagbladet*, where readers were kept abreast of running news related to the TV series itself such as plans for an American remake, its popularity abroad, the awards it had won and how it had been turned into a book as well as a theatre play. However, most of these news items were short and supplied by news agencies, and journalists at *Svenska Dagbladet* were in general not very proactive in seeking out stories about *Borgen* either as news or in other genres.

In *The Telegraph*, most of the news stories involving *Borgen* had a strong British context. There were a number of stories about the quality of British TV drama, which was compared unfavourably with the new Danish TV drama by civil servants, politicians and actors alike. Other news stories were preoccupied with collaboration between Danish and British actors, directors and scriptwriters such as the collaboration between the director of *Borgen* and Michael Dobbs, who wrote the books behind the British TV series *House of Cards*, about the production of a political drama.

Interviews are another central feature in the coverage. *Berlingske* published interviews with all the main actors, focusing equally on their careers as actors as well as their personal and private lives. *The Telegraph* interviewed actresses Sidse Babett Knudsen and Birgitte Hjort Sørensen who played respectively the female prime minister and the female journalist a couple of times each. These interviews also dealt with their careers as actors and personal lives, as well as trying to get them to explain the success of Danish TV series in Britain. *Svenska Dagbladet* did not interview any actors, but did have an interview in 2014 with the prominent Danish TV producer Sven Clausen, who built up the drama department in the Danish Broadcasting Corporation (DR), about the general success of Danish TV drama – including *Borgen* (Almqvist 2014). Such interviews with creative and organisational staff also appeared in both *The Telegraph* and *Berlingske*, providing insights into the strategic and creative processes of the production.

The above analysis shows how journalists use their professional expertise as journalists to frame a cultural product and discuss the TV series as examples of good or bad taste in a number of different genres outside the TV reviews but still within the realm of cultural journalism. However, this represents only one aspect of tastemaking by journalists, and in the following we will demonstrate that the analyses also disclose elements of what we have termed hybridisation in journalism.

Hybridisation: from storytelling devices to conflation

The data contains examples from all three newsbrands of the ways in which *Borgen* was used to tell journalistic stories from entirely different beats. This mobilisation of

a cultural product particularly took place in articles about politics, political cultures and individual politicians, but it was also present in lifestyle journalism – especially in *The Telegraph*. In many of these articles the boundaries between fiction and reality blur and lead to hybridisation where news and fictional narrative blend (Baym 2016). As we will show below, hybridisation can take on different forms from the fairly simple use of *Borgen* as a storytelling device to instances of conflation where a newspaper can align itself completely with a fictional TV series and make it impossible to distinguish between the two.

The use of *Borgen* as a storytelling device in political reporting was observed in a number of articles about the Danish politician Margrethe Vestager, who was appointed European Commissioner for Competition in 2014. In both *Berlingske* and *The Telegraph*, journalists described Vestager as similar to the successful prime minister in *Borgen* both personally and politically (Kastrup 2011, Armstrong 2015). In the case of *The Telegraph*, this was done in a profile introducing Vestager as a new player in European politics. Under the heading "Model for Borgen PM becomes Brussels star", the journalist on *The Telegraph's* 'Finance' desk described how Vestager in "true *Borgen*-style" has to juggle a high-powered political career with being a mother of three, and how some of her statements could have been taken right out of *Borgen* (Armstrong 2015).

Hybridisation can also take place at the level of material practices for instance through the use of genres. In June 2015, *The Telegraph* attempted to engage its readers in a general election in Denmark and produced a news quiz that deliberately juxtaposed the real-life Danish prime minister, Helle Thorning-Schmidt, and the fictional Birgitte Nyborg from *Borgen*. In the quiz, readers were asked to answer questions ranging from "Loves a good selfie" over "This party leader is in a romantic relationship with a British man" to "Formed a centre-left coalition after the last election" by choosing between three answers: Helle Thorning, Birgitte Nyborg or both (Ritchie 2015). The newspaper deliberately asked its readers to sort fact from fiction based on the assumption that the majority of readers based most of their knowledge about Danish politics on a fictional series (ibid.).

Borgen was also mobilised as a device in articles concerned with lifestyle issues such as fashion, food, furniture and travel. For instance, in *The Telegraph,* fashion editor Lisa Armstrong discussed the importance of hairstyle and used the hairstyles sported by the prime minister and the female journalist in *Borgen* as her main examples:

> Katrine, the fictional journalist in *Borgen*, that Danish drama noted for its verisimilitude, grew her fringe out after four episodes of the second series. That's how real she is. Meanwhile, *Borgen*'s fictional female prime minister sports a chignon that seems to get bigger with every looming political crisis. That's how powerful she is. (Armstrong 2013)

Tastemaking around lifestyle was particularly strong in *The Telegraph* because *Borgen* together with *The Killing* and *The Bridge* had opened a new window for Britons to en-

gage with Danish and Scandinavian culture and lifestyle. But the connection between (desirable) lifestyles and *Borgen* was also observed in *Berlingske* and *Svenska Dagbladet*.

Hybridisation can also be taken to a level where media and consumer culture are no longer separable categories (Jansson 2002). For instance, in the period from 2012 to 2015 the role that TV series play in modern life was a recurring theme in *Berlingske* as well as *The Telegraph*. Some of the articles zoomed in on the way TV series have become an integral part of everyday life for readers and journalists alike, and *The Telegraph's* feature writer Judith Woods referred to *Borgen* when she wrote humorously about how watching box sets in prolonged sessions can bring couples together:

> … when *Borgen* Prime Minister Birgitte Nyborg and her husband Philip's marriage fell apart (they were never once seen watching a box set – draw your own conclusions), I was so devastated I insisted my husband and I have make-up sex immediately after the final credits rolled. (Woods 2012)

In this case a commodified version of a TV series was put forward as a solution for couples who want to connect and spend more time together, and the journalist wrote about her personal life blending with events in the series as if they were real to make up a new meaning.

Another example of conflation between real life and (consumer) culture was observed in *The Telegraph* when the newspaper appointed the *Borgen* actress Birgitte Hjort Sørensen to be the guest-editor of an edition of *The Telegraph's* 'Weekend' supplement focusing on Denmark. Editing is a material practice, and the choice of an actress from the series to perform that role was obviously a strong tastemaking act. But with the appointment of Sørensen as guest editor and the publication of a whole weekend supplement about Denmark in celebration of the forthcoming third season of *Borgen*, *The Telegraph* also aligned itself completely with the series and put *Borgen* as well as the newsbrand forward as desirable commodities for readers who enjoyed a cosmopolitan lifestyle. The conflation was so strong that in an introduction to a video interview with Sørensen, *The Telegraph* did not distinguish between her real-life persona and her work as an actress. Instead the article portrayed her as having absorbed journalistic skills through her acting work that lent her authority to act as an editor in real life:

> *Borgen* star Birgitte Hjort Sørensen knows how to behave in a busy newsroom. Her character in the hit Danish television series, Katrine Fønsmark, is a television presenter who becomes a newspaper reporter, so Sørensen felt right at home when she visited the Telegraph offices in central London. (Anonymous 2013)

Conclusion

In this article we have analysed 774 articles related to the TV drama series *Borgen* in Danish, Swedish and British newsbrands, taking our starting point in theories about cultural intermediaries and tastemaking work (Maguire & Matthews 2010, 2012, 2014).

Instead of exploring the agency of journalists in tastemaking related to TV series through interviews or observations, we have focused on one specific TV series and explored how journalists in and outside the cultural beat have performed tastemaking acts related to *Borgen*. This perspective allowed us to analyse how *Borgen* has been negotiated as (good) taste in many different genres, across sections and as an intertextual device in journalistic pieces addressing lifestyle or politics, for instance.

The concept of cultural intermediaries also provided a theoretical perspective allowing us to explore the ways in which journalists are "mediating between economy and culture" (Maguire & Matthews 2012: 551), varying from traditional criticism to displaying and guiding modern culture and lifestyle with point of departure in *Borgen*. Thus, we will argue that journalists in our empirical material both evaluated *and* performed lifestyle and taste by positioning themselves in relation to *Borgen.* On the one hand, *Borgen* was negotiated and discussed as a cultural product in the cultural pages by journalists who were more or less dedicated to the beat of cultural journalism. On the other hand, *Borgen* was also discussed in a number of different genres outside the cultural pages, for instance in articles highlighting that certain Danish (female) politicians were similar to Birgitte Nyborg in *Borgen*, thereby indicating that these women were powerful, professional and dedicated. Implicitly, such articles defined not only *Borgen,* but also Danish culture and society as good taste. We have also mentioned a third example of the ways journalists can mediate between economy and culture in the interview carried out by a *Telegraph* journalist with actress Katrine Fønsmark when the latter was doing editorial work at *The Telegraph*. Here, the newsbrand and the interviewing journalist became inseparable from the fictional narrative, and in this case the tastemaking could be characterised as a performance, because the journalist from *The Telegraph* became part of the fictional world and Katrine Fønsmark from *Borgen* became part of the real world.

Following Baym (2016), we have analysed these articles as examples of hybridisation, demonstrating how *Borgen* and the coverage of *Borgen* can be inscribed into an overarching image culture (Jansson 2002) in which it becomes difficult to separate media and consumer culture. Likewise, we argue that the coverage of *Borgen* in some cases blurs the boundaries between signifier and signified. Sometimes this TV series is obviously discussed as a cultural commodity and product, but in other cases it is used as a marker of taste in completely different contexts.

Comparing the coverage of *Borgen* in a Danish, Swedish and British context, it is interesting to note that processes of journalistification and hybridisation related to *Borgen* could be observed in all three newsbrands, and that journalists drew on similar devices regardless of nationality. However, national context and previous experience of Danish TV series also played a major role in the extent and form of tastemaking produced by journalists. Angles and the precise wording of storytelling devices were anchored in the specific national context of all three newsbrands. In terms of the extent and intensity of the coverage, the coverage in *Svenska Dagbladet* was fairly limited, which might reflect the fact that Danish TV series are a well-known phenomenon in

Sweden. In Britain, on the other hand, it was new and exciting to watch Danish TV series, which might explain the overwhelming attention paid by journalists to *Borgen* including the high levels of hybridisation.

Our conclusions raise the question of whether journalists are all cultural intermediaries. The concept of cultural intermediaries has been criticised for being too inclusive and for being an analytically-neutered term (Hesmondhalgh 2006); and in their work Maguire and Matthews address precisely this discussion and limitation, arguing that the work of cultural intermediaries "is not common to all because of its expert orientation" (Maguire & Matthews 2012: 552). Many of the articles in our sample that refer to *Borgen* do not represent calculated or intentional tastemaking based on specific expertise about television series. In these cases the coverage of *Borgen* is typically characterised by the blending of fictional and real-world narratives, and is exposed as a common point of reference – in other words, journalists write about *Borgen* as if we were all regular viewers. These aspects of tastemaking are not the result of professional expertise, but rather a result of journalists exposing and integrating their personal taste in the production of their work. However, journalists use their authority as journalists and as opinion makers to demonstrate and expose cultural taste, thereby performing tastemaking acts even though they are not acting as cultural intermediaries in a strict theoretical sense.

Notes

1. The term newsbrand refers to media organisations that publish content on a number of different platforms – for instance digital and print.
2. https://www.facebook.com/karenmargrethe.schelin (Accessed 31 August, 2016).
3. http://www.b.dk/redaktionen/jakob-steen-olsen (Accessed 31 August, 2016).
4. See e.g. http://www.svd.se/av/harry-amster (Accessed 31 August, 2016).
5. See e.g. http://www.svd.se/av/anna-hellsten (Accessed 31 August, 2016).
6. See e.g. http://www.clivejames.com/essays/cjtv (Accessed 31 August 2016).

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III. Cultural Journalism in the Public Sphere
Essays

9.

The Cultural, the Political and the Functions of Cultural Journalism

In Digital Times

Jostein Gripsrud

Watching the Netflix series *House of Cards* as the 2016 US primary is going on, is an interesting experience. One wonders, even if one is well aware of the purely fictional status of the show, to what extent it builds on actual events and people. And so, when watching the news or otherwise picking up some information on current events in the US, a scene, a line or a whole storyline in *House of Cards* may come to mind. We only have one brain, after all.

These interactions between the experience of audio-visual fiction and forms of reporting or other representations of factual, political events are indicative of a larger set of interactions between the cultural and the political that are part of the subject field of cultural journalism. So how should one define the subject field of cultural journalism? This question is notoriously difficult to answer in a definite, unambiguous way, even if one, as I will do here, only refers to a journalistic practice in institutionalized, traditional news media. A main purpose of the following is in a sense to demonstrate and discuss why this is the case. I will do this by first placing cultural journalism in relation to the distinction between the political and the cultural public sphere – and then, second, show how blurred this distinction is in practice, historically and currently. I will furthermore be pointing to some of the new challenges for cultural journalism linked to the digitalization of the media and thus, largely, the public sphere. As the financing of solid cultural journalism erodes, the need for it is perhaps greater than ever.

But first, I would like to, very briefly, do something that is too rarely done: situate the issue within the context of democratic theory. I think this is important, since it is a way to address the overall, general functions of cultural journalism in liberal democratic societies. What are the relations between cultural journalism and political processes, in which journalism in general supposedly play an important role? An answer to this question depends on our understanding of the subject matter for cultural journalism, i.e. 'culture', and its place and role in the public sphere, i.e. the cultural (part of the) public sphere.

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Models of democracy

There are several ways in which the term 'democracy' can be understood and theories of democracy come in a multitude of forms and shapes. These theories Jon Elster (1986) once categorized usefully as either 'market' or 'forum' type theories.

Theories of democracy as comparable to a market – the economic model, if you like – see the private choice between alternatives in the voting booth as the primary political act in a democracy. Proponents of this sort of model, such as the economist Joseph A. Schumpeter (1942), regarded politics as an instrumental activity in support of particular given private interests aimed at acquiring the optimal compromise between these interests. The public sphere is in this perspective a space for the mobilization of support for particular interests and their preferred solutions to problems, a space for propaganda and 'manipulation' rather than a space for genuine discussions.

Theories that conceive of democracy as a forum, come in two versions. Both emphasise the centrality of the public sphere. The first could be called 'educational' or 'existential' and is particularly preoccupied with the public sphere as an arena for actions that are a goal in themselves, serving self-realisation and personal growth. Hannah Arendt, who was critical toward representative democracy and favoured a sort of council democracy, is a major proponent for this perspective. The other version is, however, presently dominating in the field of democratic theory: Deliberative democracy. The primary political act is here participation in public discourse, and public discourse is about sustained argumentation for particular views on certain issues. And, essentially, these views may be changed in the process, through 'the power of the better argument'. Deliberation is seen as having a decisive influence on public opinion, which is supposed to inform the processes of political will formation and decision-making.

The public sphere is important in both the market and the deliberative models. But for the market model, it is largely a space for propaganda, for mobilising support for already established views and goals. Open debates – in a variety of forms – are meaningful and have real political importance only in the deliberative one. Any real public sphere will have elements of both models.

Cultural journalism could well be involved in 'propaganda', i.e. campaigns for this or that. This is the case when it takes on a language close to or identical with that of advertising and uncritically serves e.g. the interests of major cultural institutions or powerful media entertainment producers. Cultural journalism often comes close to content marketing when it provides cost-free support for the sales of this or that new cultural product. But both ideally and in practice, it seems fair to say that cultural journalism for the most part contributes to certain forms of deliberation: Those taking place within the cultural public sphere or on the borders between the cultural and the political. A prerequisite for contributions to be worthy of the label 'deliberative' is that they provide some measure of sustained argumentation and critical reflection on the subject matter in question. It appears likely that deliberatively oriented cultural journalism does not thrive in media that prioritize commercial success over

journalistic solidity, hence it thrives less in media systems that are more dominated by commercial interests than public service ideals.

The cultural public sphere

The concept of the cultural public sphere stems from Jürgen Habermas' 1962 classic *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* [The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere, English edition 1989]. According to Habermas, a 'literary public sphere' preceded the political public sphere. It developed as a set of forums for public discourse on literature and other arts and was, contrary to the later political public sphere, also to some extent open to the participation of women and non-bourgeois parts of the population. Habermas said it was important in that it constituted certain principles, procedures for debate that were later taken over by the political public sphere. But he also described its particular functions in a way that still rings true at least partially: It was

> the public sphere of a rational-critical debate in the world of letters within which the subjectivity originating in the interiority of the conjugal family, by communicating with itself, attained clarity about itself. (Habermas [1962]1989: 51)

So the cultural public sphere was – and remains – central to the development of subjectivity and self-understanding, in several ways. It is a space for reflection and discussion on a number of issues that are important to the formation of a self and the subject's own understanding of it – issues relating to human relations of all sorts, to ethics, about love, hate and other basic as well as more complicated emotions, about more or less philosophical perspectives on human existence and so on. The starting point for such discussion or reflection is historically as well as contemporarily very often some piece of some sort of art – a novel, a movie, a theatrical play, a television series, a piece of music. The experience of such forms of art is also central to the development of morality and ethics through encounters and identification with (imagined) others. From there the distance to ethical reflection with political implications need not be so great. I will return to this below, but let me just briefly mention here that classic examples could be *Uncle Tom's Cabin*'s contribution to the struggle against slavery and *Madame Bovary*'s contribution to political debates on marriage and women's rights; more recent examples would include music, novels, films and TV series that thematise the conditions of a variety of repressed categories of people, ecological issues and the like. Furthermore, the cultural public sphere constitutes, along with e.g. the educational system, a vast set of references that are more or less peculiar to a particular community, local, regional, national and transnational. These sets of references are important contributions to the formation of identities, feelings of belonging to a variety of communities.

Cultural journalism contributes to these discourses through its coverage of the arts and the rest of the cultural field – which is almost overwhelmingly large and

complex, since it in principle comprises all public institutions, activities and products that are not overtly political in nature: Anything from the communication of science to religion and sports. Some of these areas, such as sports, have their own journalistic branches. But the 'culture' to be covered by cultural journalism is still immense in its scope. Take a look at UNESCO's definition of culture (2002): "the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group" which "encompasses, in addition to art and literature, lifestyles, ways of living together, value systems, traditions and beliefs". It is phrased in a way that indicates how 'art and literature' is, so to speak, self-evidently central to the concept. If 'art' and 'literature' is interpreted in a generous way, i.e. including popular art/culture and non-fiction literature, I am inclined to argue that 'art and literature' also is a very strong candidate for a place at the core of cultural journalism's subject. This is of course not to say that more recent additions such as 'lifestyle' journalism of various kinds also belong to cultural journalism's field.

But since any subject may be approached from a cultural point of view, and art may well address issues of a political nature, the borderlines between the cultural and the political public sphere are fuzzy. Accordingly, Bernhard Peters once ([1994]2008: 37) underlined the importance of including 'non-political' discourse in the general concept of the public sphere as follows:

> General public discussion is not limited to those practical questions either needing solutions, or capable of resolution. To this belong debates on general orientation, normative principles and values (whether in public or private life), relationships to a collective past and collective aspirations for the future. The diagnosis of current social trends and cultural criticism belong as much to the public sphere as do political debates in a narrower sense.

In addition, it is important that artworks may in fact contribute to public discourse on social and political issues also by presenting forms of argumentation on an issue that are unavailable to purely discursive, prosaic texts. They may for instance draw on other aspects of reality and appeal to the public through forms of identification and empathy associated primarily with fictional forms.

On this background, three key functions of the cultural public sphere that cultural journalism is involved in, can be summarized as follows:

- ***Identity:*** A repertoire of literary and other cultural experiences establishes and changes people's sense of *belonging* to a variety of socio-cultural categories: National, regional, local, age, gender, class, ethnicity etc
- ***Empathy:*** the cultural public sphere offers representations of human experience and thus the possibility of discovering and developing one's ability to imagine oneself in the position of some other human being.
- ***Argumentation:*** Artworks circulated and discussed in the cultural public sphere may represent forms of argumentation different from those of discourses in the

> political domain. Some literary, theatrical, visual or other texts that quite overtly present a particular view on an issue, urging the audience to act accordingly, have also been successful. Works of art can play out arguments in a public debate without necessarily propagating a single possible solution to the problems under discussion.

A final note of great importance is, however, necessary here: While there are many ways in which the cultural public sphere is tied to and even fundamental to the agenda and perspectives of the political public sphere, this is not to say that cultural issues are 'actually' political, or, that the cultural public sphere is important only to the extent that it is politically relevant. Such a view instrumentalizes culture in a way reminiscent of totalitarian regimes of different kinds in which 'culture' is seen as a tool for constructing the proper, correct or ideal human being, tailored to the norms of the regime in question. The cultural public sphere is also a set of arenas that are legitimate in themselves, as a zone separate from politics proper.

With this point in mind, I will now present a few historical examples of how art, in the form of literature, have had political consequences – before moving to other arts and our own time.

Historical examples: Literature with political repercussions

The founder of the hermeneutic branch of the German 'aesthetics of reception', Hans Robert Jauss, formulated a couple of basic ideas in his approach to historical reception studies in the following two quotes:

> The social function of literature manifests itself in its genuine possibility only where the literary experience of the reader enters into the horizon of expectations of his lived praxis, preforms his understanding of the world and thereby also has an effect on his social behavior. […]
>
> The new literary work is received and judged against the background of other works of art as well as against the everyday experience of life. Its social function in the ethical realm is to be grasped according to an aesthetics of reception in the same modalities of question and answer, problem and solution, under which it enters into the horizon of its historical influence. (Jauss [1970/1982] 2011, pp 54-57)

Simpler put: Literature affects social life when literary experiences become parts of the mental apparatus with which readers approach, perceive and encounter the social world, and it may change this apparatus when it provides new answers to questions readers have concerning the nature and ethical challenges of the world they inhabit. Cultural journalism will often be an important factor in such processes since it not only contributes to the shaping of people's expectations of a literary work or other forms of art but also to a considerable extent influences public discourse on the 'texts' in

question and thus the ways in which the immediate aesthetic experience is interpreted and becomes part of both collective and individual cultural memory.

18th century epistolary novels, i.e. novels consisting in a series of fictional, personal letters, have often been regarded as the first form of the modern, 'bourgeois' novel. The letter form, with the voices of leading characters speaking directly to readers may be thought of as intensifying readers' empathy. The most well-known and at the time most successful of these novels, were written by authors such as Samuel Richardson (*Pamela: Or, Virtue Rewarded* (1740) and *Clarissa, Or: The History of a Young Lady* (1748)) and Jean Jacques Rousseau (*Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1761)). These stories about lower-class young women suffering from various kinds of mistreatment by older, richer, powerful men, got translated and were very successful with largely upper-class readers both in Britain and in France. In her book *Inventing Human Rights* (2007), UCLA historian Lynn Hunt argues that the reading of these novels was a significant part of the background for the revolutionary declarations of human rights that appeared in the late 18th century, first in the US (1776) and then in France (1789). She studied readers' written responses to the novels, most of which were strongly emotional, evidencing their experiences of identification with the struggling young women. The fact that upper-class British males could identify with lower-class, French women, indicated – indicates – that all human beings had – have – something in common, something that made the identification across class, national and gender lines possible. Uncertain what this commonality was about more specifically, the 'truth' that all 'men' are created equal was declared to be 'self-evident'.

Another, much more well-known example of how literary experience could influence political developments, is Harriet Beecher Stowe's classic *Uncle Tom's Cabin*; *Or, Life Among the Lowly* (1852). The first print run was 5,000. Within a year, the book had sold 300,000 copies in America, and over a million in Britain. The number of people who encountered the story may have been 10 times the number who bought the book – in an era when reading aloud was a common practice among family and friends. The novel's impact on public opinion regarding slavery was soon recognized as considerable. In 1862, Abraham Lincoln is said to have received Stowe at the White House with the greeting, "Is this the little woman who made this great war?". Translated into a large number of languages, the novel has even been said to have inspired anything from emancipation in Brazil to anti-colonialism in China (Reynolds 2011). At all stages and in all parts of this *Wirkungsgeschichte* – history of impact – cultural journalism about and around the book in news media, magazines and journals of various kinds played an important part.

A third and final example from way-back-when, is Gustave Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* (1857), which was morally, socially and politically important in that it questioned marriage and morality (fidelity) in ways that point toward later debates and revisions of laws concerning divorce, women's rights etc. That the novel was provocative at the time of publication became evident when a trial was instituted against the author after

the prepublication of the work in the *Révue de Paris* in the autumn of 1856. What makes *Madame Bovary* interesting is not only the assumed importance for later legal and cultural developments, but especially that its provocative power was tied to its literary style according to Han Robert Jauss:

> [t]he new literary form that compelled Flaubert's audience to an unfamiliar perception of the 'well-thumbed fable' was the principle of impersonal (or uninvolved) narration, in conjunction with the artistic device of the so-called *style indirect libre*, handled by Flaubert like a virtuoso and in a perspectively consequential manner. (Jauss [1970] 1982: 57)

Readers were so to speak given direct access to Madame Bovary's thoughts, with no moral judgement attached. In other words, aesthetic devices that might require a competent critic or cultural journalist to be explicitly identified or pointed out might still influence any reader's aesthetic experience and be of significant importance for an artwork's political impact.

Post WW2 and current examples: Cultural inputs in broader political developments

None of the above examples indicates that a piece of art can in itself 'change the world' politically. What they do show, is that literature and other arts may contribute significantly to political developments with many other causes or roots by becoming part of the material under public discussion at any given time, influencing people's 'mind-sets' or, hermeneutically put, the horizons of expectations with which they regard or encounter the(ir) world. Artworks are most probably more important as contributions to the shaping of general attitudes than as inputs in discussion of e.g. specific legislative issues. Cultural journalism is, as indicated above, a key factor in the mediation between artworks and aesthetic experiences on the one hand and the wider set of cultural and political influences on the other.

When, for example, Harper Lee's novel *To Kill a Mockingbird* was first published in 1960, the struggle for black people's civil rights in the US had already been going on for many years, growing in intensity especially in the late 1950s. It had been referred to and supported in a variety of media forms, including cultural journalism. Still, the novel's immediate success, its subsequent use in US schools, its very successful film version (1962) make it hard to deny that the novel's moving depiction of racial inequalities in the south was an important if indirect contribution to the changes that took place during the 1960s – along with many other artworks, journalism of many kinds and, most decisive, the direct political struggle itself.

But there are also examples of artworks that more directly influence political processes and decisions. One relatively recent of these is Lukas Moodysson's 2002 film *Lilja 4ever*. It was quite immediately referred to by both Swedish and Norwegian

ministers and was the subject of the first and only film review by a Norwegian minister of justice, Odd Einar Dørum (in *Dagbladet* 30 September 2002). The minister wrote that the film had such a powerful emotional impact on him that it appeared necessary to "encourage others to see it, understand, and, not least, react". He furthermore wrote that the film "perfectly illustrates" the five "pillars" of a "plan of action" against trafficking that was already on the way, i.e. that trafficking is (1) in breach of human rights, (2) about sexual violence against women and children, (3) in breach of the principle of equality between genders, (4) a result of poverty, (5) organized crime. In other words, *Lilja 4ever* appeared at a time when governments were already busy planning political action in this area, and its fictional representation of trafficking perfectly matched the government's conception of it – in an emotionally very engaging way. Therefore the film can be said to have influenced new legislation (such as the law that made the purchase of the services of prostitutes illegal as of 1 January 2009) and led to various social initiatives. So what was cultural journalism's place in all of this? The answer is that cultural journalism helped bring the minister and lots of other people to the cinemas, and also contributed significantly to the public discussion(s) that followed.

It is important to keep in mind that the cultural public sphere also encompasses non-fiction literature and documentary films – cultural forms that can be seen as parts of or close to cultural journalism – that may well be about broader political issues and can engender changes in attitudes. Biologist Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962) described the devastating effects of DDT and similar substances on nature, not least on birds. It immediately became an international success and must be seen as one of the reasons why all serious political parties, at least in Western Europe, ten years later had to have an opinion on ecological issues. A variety of scientific reports created a lot of debate on ecology but also broader cultural activities such as a travelling exhibition produced in 1969 by architecture students in Oslo, Norway – *Og etter oss…* [And after us…]. After 80 000 people had seen it in Oslo, it toured the country and was visited by school classes, got media attention and created a buzz everywhere.[1] While this phenomenon was a blend of communication of scientific knowledge and political intervention, it was typically the subject for cultural rather than political journalism.

What the above scattered historical examples are meant to illustrate, is that even if literary and other arts are at the core of our conception of 'culture' and thus at the core of the cultural public sphere, and even if the arts and discourses tied to them – such as that of cultural journalism – are not necessarily 'about' politics proper, they may be of great importance for the shape and development of public discourse on political issues – especially over time. The examples of non-fiction works illustrate how the cultural public sphere also encompasses more or less creative albeit non-artistic (in the traditional sense at least) texts and activities that have obvious indirect and direct political implications. Add to this that the multifarious and vast cultural production that may be labelled 'entertainment', 'infotainment' or simply popular culture are also part of the cultural public sphere, and it becomes clear that if 'cultural journalism' is

to cover what goes on in the cultural public sphere, it is of great importance both for public discourse in general and for the more directly political parts of it.

It also follows from all of this that cultural journalism is a highly demanding branch of journalism since it demands a very broad set of competences from its practitioners. It requires both quite advanced knowledge of the art forms and the social or political issues in question. Since such a wide range of knowledge is necessary for an adequate coverage of what goes on in the cultural public sphere, it normally takes several journalists with different specialties to enable such coverage. The present financial problems in all news media based on income from advertising makes quality cultural journalism an endangered species. It is time to approach the question of cultural journalism's place in a digitalized media world.

Current conditions and challenges: The increasing complexity of the public sphere

As literacy spread to the whole population, 'the reading public' became socially diverse. Society itself became more complex through industrialisation and a number of other historical processes – among them the growing number of associations/organisations tied to class interests, religious beliefs, ideas and ideals, a variety of leisure activities, sports etc. These developments started in the 19th century but continued at an increasing pace throughout the 20th.

The public sphere changed accordingly, so that when Jürgen Habermas described it in his *Beyond Facts and Norms* ([1992]1996), he had to underline its composite nature: It does have a politically central, general arena, but its structure is that of a complex network that "branches out into a multitude of overlapping international, national, regional, local, and sub cultural arenas" (p. 373). He exemplified this by pointing to public spheres within popular sciences, religion, art and literature, feminism and other 'alternative' political orientations. According to Habermas, the public sphere is also differentiated into different levels based on the 'density' of communication, and the complexity and scope of organisation –

> from the episodic publics found in taverns, coffee houses, or on the streets; through the occasional 'arranged' publics of particular presentations and events, such as theatre performances, rock concerts, party assemblies, or church congresses; up to the abstract public sphere of isolated readers, listeners, and viewers scattered across large geographic areas, or even around the globe, and brought together only through the mass media. (p. 374).

Importantly, however, Habermas underlined also that all of these specific public spheres remained 'porous' in relation to each other, i.e., for instance, that events in one occasional, arranged public sphere such as a music festival may well be reported and discussed both in other smaller public spheres and in the large, general one. The

mediation of cultural journalism between art forms and between art/culture and the rest of society is important to this 'porousness'.

This latter point is of particular importance when we get to the post-Internet phase of the public sphere, since the net has radically increased the number and specificity of public spheres, to the extent that some would suggest we rather speak of 'public sphericules' at the possible expense of the democratic public sphere, which depends on the existence of a *public*:

> Does democracy require a public or publics? A public sphere or separate public sphericules? Does the proliferation of the latter, the comfort in which they can be cultivated, damage the prospects for the former? Does it not look as though the public sphere, in falling, had shattered into a scatter of globules, like mercury? The diffusion of interactive technology surely enriches the possibilities for a plurality of publics – for the development of distinct groups organized around affinity and interest. What is not clear is that the proliferation and lubrication of publics contributes to the creation of a public – an active democratic encounter of citizens who reach across their social and ideological differences to establish a common agenda of concern and to debate rival approaches. (Gitlin 1998: 173)

It is not only that the Internet facilitates the formation of public sub-spheres, it also may be seen to technologically support and radicalize forms of individualization that might endanger the existence of a democratic public with different views but an agenda in common: There are not only endless possibilities for individual choices of media material, there is also e.g. the personalized filtering of search machines (cf. Pariser 2011). Pioneers and missionaries of digitalization early on envisaged these phenomena. Already in 1995 Nicholas Negroponte foresaw a sort of newspaper he called 'The Daily Me', and Bill Gates talked about the coming of 'Me TV'. In some sense, these phenomena have now to a considerable extent become reality.

These developments can potentially have negative consequences for democracy since they may complicate severely the creation of a public along the lines sketched by Gitlin above. As early as 1996, MIT researchers Marshall Van Alstyne and Eirik Brynjolfsson asked whether "electronic communities' constituted a 'global village' or rather 'cyberbalkans'". (Alstyne & Brynjolfsson 1996). Four years later, in 2000, sociologist David Putnam in his already classic *Bowling Alone* talked about 'cyberbalkanization', a process whereby people's construction of their ideal media menus lead to the establishment of uniform (in terms of views and values) online communities: "Real-world interactions often force us to deal with diversity, whereas the virtual world may be more homogenous, not in demographic terms, but in terms of interest and outlook." (Putnam 2000: 178). In political philosophy, the term cyber-balkanization was most influentially first picked up by Cass Sunstein. In his *Republic.com* (2001*)* and *Republic.com 2.0* (2007) he claimed that "a well-functioning system of free expression" presupposes that (1) "people should be exposed to materials they would not have chosen in advance" and (2) "many or most citizens should have a range of common experiences". These prerequisites for

a well-functioning democracy are, according to Sunstein, more important the more heterogeneous society as a whole is, since that means the risk of fragmentation is higher.

The fear of people living in totally insulated media environments can be countered, first, by pointing to the classical findings of Lazarsfeld and Katz (1944, 1955) that people actually live in communities and talk to each other – the background for the so-called two-step flow of communication model. Second, empirical studies of online use and online communities do not support the (total) balkanization thesis (e.g. Enjolras et al. 2013). So far, a central arena and 'general interest intermediaries' (Sunstein) live on. And this evidently makes for a primary site where cultural journalism has a key role to play: Solid, relevant, engaging cultural journalism may well be thought of as a highly important mediator between seemingly isolated publics, providing material for a broader, shared reflection on issues of common concern.

At the same time, digitalization has changed the structures of the cultural public sphere in many and, at least partially, profound ways. A multitude of new forums for both the publication and the discussion of artworks have developed and a more or less continuous charting and evaluation of these forums and their role for public discourse on culture and the arts could well be seen as a new, important task for cultural journalism. They range from fan sites devoted to particular TV series, musicians/bands, actors or authors, to more magazine-like sites with more or less academically qualified essays and debates. Generally, the key strength of these online forums in relation to traditional media is that they allow for interactivity and continuous debates with broad participation. In many ways, they are reminiscent of the early cultural public sphere. Peter Larsen once made this point in an article about TV series fan sites:

> When the discussions in the early cultural public sphere moved out of the salons and coffee houses and were institutionalized in print media like journals, magazines, and newspapers, and later on moved into broadcast media like radio and television, cultural criticism became a matter for professionals and the ideal open, interactive exchange of opinions and arguments was replaced by impersonal and asymmetrical one-to-many communication. The emergence of the internet discussion arenas with their possibilities of instantaneous, many-to-many communication has to a certain extent solved this problem and revived private people's public discussion of cultural matters after a very long period of time. (Larsen 2010: 166)

Another very important feature of the digitalized public sphere is that it has taken internationalization (especially Americanisation) and also globalization to a new level. Especially young people today seem to relate to English-language Internet sources of entertainment, information and discussion as much as domestic ones. Teenagers relate on a daily basis to YouTube channels or 'youtubers' their parents have never heard of, follow people on Instagram or other social media that are equally unfamiliar to the rest of the population. This sort of internationalization of media consumption is also indicated by the success of streaming services such as Netflix and HBO, the latter is outside of the US at least available in the Nordic countries (HBO Nordic). Netflix

opened in Norway in October 2012, and already in December 2014 31 per cent of Norwegian households subscribed to the service.[2] Again, this is a new, important area where cultural journalism can take on the role of mediator, securing the 'porousness' between otherwise separated publics.

An interesting example of how transnational digital services can affect the national public sphere, is the striking success of the Netflix documentary series *Making a Murderer*. Along with the podcast series *Serial* it has inspired leading Norwegian media's production of national 'true crime' productions about contested cases and led to public debate. A clear sign of the broad recognition of *Making a Murderer* as a high quality piece of journalistic work is that the series' two female producers were invited to the yearly national conference of investigative journalism in March 2016 and interviewed on stage there. This sort of impact is historically new for US television series.

Competent cultural journalism is needed not least to provide overviews and analyses of developments in this rapidly changing and growing net-based cultural field – what it provides, and how it affects the public sphere as a whole. Its ability to do that, however, is under threat by forces unleashed by the same digital technology: The threat to so-called legacy media that drastic drops in income from advertising, subscription and sales represent, in a situation where Google, Facebook, Amazon, Apple and Microsoft not only grab huge shares of advertising revenues but also control, largely by way of algorithms, the distribution of media content. Who will be critically investigating and reporting on the massive concentration of media cultural power that these five global giants command if traditional media go bankrupt?

Notes

1. http://naturvernforbundet.no/getfile.php/Natur%20og%20Milj%C3%B8/Arkiv%20Norsk%20Natur/1969/Norsk%20natur%20nr%202-1969.pdf
2. TNS Gallup survey, referred to by *Klassekampen* 9 March 2015

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10.

The Culture of Service Journalism

Martin Eide

This essay engages in a discussion of the encounter between the practices of the expanding field of service journalism and a professional reorientation underway within cultural journalism. A productive way to define service journalism is through its modes of address (Eide 1992, Eide & Knight 1999). We can then think of service journalism as a type of journalism that generally addresses its audience members in their capacity as consumers, private persons and clients rather than as citizens. Whereas classical political journalism, cultural journalism and news journalism, according to their ideal, address audience members in relation to their role as citizens.

The scope of service journalism today is not restricted to advice columns in print and service programs on the television screen. The mentality and ideology of this kind of journalism extend far beyond such contexts and texts and can be seen as decisive components in the construction of the ideology of modern journalism. Political journalism and cultural journalism, are no exceptions in this regard. The media claim to be 'on your side' and to have a vocation to force politicians and cultural institutions to provide the solutions and utterances demanded by the people. We'll provide the necessary service, the media pronounce publicly in response to the assessment of the demand for political and cultural consumer information.

The professionalization context

The professionalization project in current cultural journalism seems to adapt the ideology of modern service journalism, and the result is a cultural journalism which approaches mainstream journalism within other journalistic fields. Does this service-inspired professionalization project imply the impoverishment of cultural journalism? To what extent should the professionalization of cultural journalism go beyond the general journalistic professionalization project?

Eide, Martin (2017). The Culture of Service Journalism in Nete Nørgaard Kristensen & Kristina Riegert (eds) *Cultural Journalism in the Nordic Countries*. Göteborg: Nordicom.

This explorative essay addresses these issues from the perspective of the intersection where cultural journalism meets service journalism, an encounter that needs to be considered in relation to recent changes in journalism. Among the relevant journalistic reorientations is the so-called participatory turn (Singer et al. 2011), which has challenged the established relations between professionals and amateurs in the journalistic field.

Another central question in the debate on the professional status of cultural journalism is whether it should be considered to be a special category of journalism or a type of mainstream journalism. Should the same professional norms and standards apply to cultural journalism as mainstream news journalism?

Interviews with journalists suggest nuanced answers: On one hand, cultural journalists share journalism's traditional norms and routines, but on the other, cultural journalists constitute a distinctive subculture with distinctive genres and a particular self-understanding (Kristensen 2003, Harries & Wahl-Jørgensen 2007). Compared to other kinds of journalism, cultural journalism is both equal and different.

A recurring critique is that cultural journalists fail to report and address their sources in a critical fashion. Along with sports journalism, cultural journalism has been seen as loyal to its sources and as instrumental in providing a national identity and a positive attitude towards athletes and artists. The quest to increase the professionalism of cultural journalism is often expressed through claims that cultural journalism should be no exception to the general endeavour of professionalization.

It is tempting to assume that cultural journalism's remaining differences from other kinds of journalism have come under siege. A repeated claim in debates on the professionalization of cultural journalism has been that it is still too different from other journalistic types. It should be more equal. It should stick to traditional journalistic values, such as independence from sources. The picture is painted of cultural journalism as professionally underdeveloped (probably more so in Norway than in Sweden and Denmark) (Lund 2005, Olsen 2014). Cultural journalism is considered to be in need of catching up with other kinds of professional journalism.

This familiar view arose – once again – in a recent Norwegian debate on cultural journalism prompted by the publication of a book instructively entitled *Critical Cultural Journalism* (Olsen 2014). Once again, the argument went as follows:

- Cultural journalists are governed by their own emotions rather than being concerned with facts.
- Cultural journalists are more concerned with supporting cultural actors and institutions than conducting critical investigations.
- Cultural journalists are too busy producing promotional material for new cultural products.

Olsen's (2014) main contention was that cultural journalists should – simply – strive for the same ideals as other journalists and be critical, facts oriented and investigative. The

trouble with such a programme, in my view, is that it downplays the particularities of cultural journalism. It tends to neglect content in favour of the journalistic approach.

Bjørgulv Braanen (2014), editor of the Norwegian newspaper *Klassekampen*, argued that the author of *Critical Cultural Journalism* (Olsen 2014) expressed a dominant view in the cultural field. In the early 1990s, many commentators voiced similar opinions. They proclaimed the cultural pages to be too sedate and too loyal to cultural institutions. While this critique voiced some truth, Braanen (2014) found that the solution too often became a tighter regime, decreased journalistic independence and a cultural journalism resembling ordinary journalism. He described a notable decline in the importance of cultural journalism in many European countries, not the least the weakening of cultural pages' role as a forum for debate, ideology, analysis and cultural criticism. Furthermore, he found it paradoxical that the cultural pages in many papers became arenas for celebrity journalism, which technically fulfils traditional news criteria. A celebrity couple getting married *is* regarded as news, but a comprehensive interview with a writer is not (Braanen 2014).

The push for a more 'professional' cultural journalism has also taken the form of building cultural journalists' competence in economic and political issues. However, as it is countered, cultural journalism should be more than, and different from, business news. The cultural journalist should provide the audience with material on the important issues of the time. Braanen (2014) drew the following conclusion: 'Newspapers need more, not fewer journalists concerned with art, philosophy, ideology, and life's big issues'.

I find this debate illuminating for the effort to maintain cultural journalism as a particular, important form of journalism which has great significance for the public sphere. We must undertake a realistic assessment of the expansion of service journalism and other journalistic reorientations. Although cultural journalism has a legitimate interest in providing guidance and advice to its audience, it should not, in my view, degenerate into a private service. Cultural journalism should remain a public good and a public service.

Cultural journalism meets service journalism

When cultural journalism meets service journalism, titles such as these abound: 'If you watch only one movie this year …'; '10 songs to die for'; '10 books that will change your life'; 'Become a hero in your own life!'; 'We (the media) are at your service!'; 'Heal yourself'; '10 tips for a better life;' 'Know your rights!'; 'Be a smart consumer'; 'Five books you should read, according to experts'; '10 paintings that will change your worldview'; 'Try this before you die'; 'Don't let anyone cheat you'; and 'All you need to know about DAB radio'.

While there has always been an element of guidance and advice in cultural journalism and criticism, there has also been a recurring tension between guidance and

advice as a public good, on one hand, and as a private service, on the other. Addressing this tension, we need to avoid simplistic narratives of decay and decline. The concept of service journalism should not be equated with degeneration or re-feudalisation (cf Eide & Knight 1999). Service journalism is more ambivalent, more fluid, more in line with the complexity and reflexivity of late modernity. We have to accept that everyday life is an expanding arena of journalistic endeavours. Journalism is not only about empowering citizens to participate in democracy; it is also about entertainment and everyday activities. We are not only citizens; we are also consumers, clients and ordinary persons. We need enlightenment, and we need entertainment and service. And we will, occasionally, want to participate in journalism. 'Come and make journalism together with us,' say the professionals – slightly less confident in their professional role.

Providing advice, orientation and direction for daily life is considered a worthwhile, important task for the public, as well as for journalists. This role conception among journalists is documented in the World of Journalism Study (2013, see Figure 1). In journalistic beats such as health and entertainment, this obligation is obvious, but providing advice and guidance for everyday life is also considered important in the field of cultural journalism. Service journalism aims to provide assistance on a whole range of activities connected to the everyday roles of its audience, including health issues, consumer rights, travel, lifestyle information – and cultural consumption.

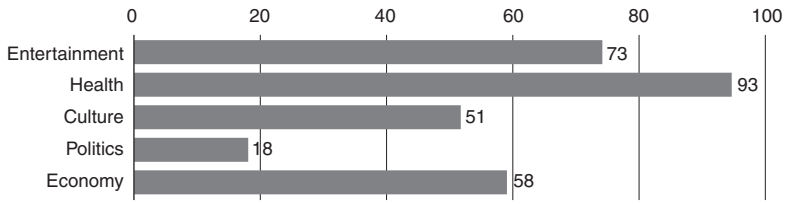

Figure 1. Journalists in selected beats who see providing advice as important (per cent)

Comment: The figure shows journalists who find advice somewhat, very or extremely important.
Source: World of Journalism Study, 2013.

What image of the audience does this type of journalism convey? As indicated, we can think of service journalism as a type of journalism that typically addresses its audience members in their capacity as consumers, private persons and clients rather than as citizens. Whereas classical political journalism and news journalism, according to the ideal, address their audience in relation to their role as citizens, the subject that service journalism interpellates is a hybrid figure – part citizen, part consumer and part client. Moreover, service journalism lends itself to collective, political action as it shares common ground – the problematization of the everyday life-world – with the social movements, advocacy and activism groups that are the driving force in subpolitics (Eide & Knight 1999).

Service journalism typically conveys a broad definition of culture which encompasses not only high art but also popular culture. Following Raymond Williams (1976), culture can be conceived as a 'whole way of life'. Here, service journalism takes an active role in providing potential resources for different ways of life. In this way, service journalism can be linked to inspirational literature on self-improvement and self-help and, thereby, to popular journalism and popular culture on a more general level.

An important achievement of modern journalism, and tabloid journalism in particular, has been the discovery of everyday life as a central field for journalism. Journalism covers a considerable amount of everyday drama and human-interest topics, and often gives precedent to the human being, not the institution, political party or social group. It addresses the reader's *lifeworld* and presents 'news-you-can-use'. In providing an everyday service, the newspaper becomes a 'use-paper'.

Service journalism is a prominent genre for this aspect of modern journalism and offers a private service more often than a public service. Through the format of service journalism, journalists express that they are at the service of their audience. They stress that they are ready to contribute to solving everyday problems and providing the pleasures of consumption. They nurture a consumer consciousness, arguing that it is worthwhile for readers to stand up for their rights as consumers. However, service journalism covers a broader scope than consumer journalism, while addressing not only the consumer, but also the client and the individual person.

The expansion of service journalism requires social and historical interpretations and explanations. The social resonance of this kind of journalism arises from the emergence of a consumer culture and the welfare society. The link between service journalism and the welfare state can be illustrated by the Scandinavian case (Eide 1992). The expanding and increasingly complex welfare state produced new guidance demands, which in particular have been addressed by popular newspapers, such as the Swedish *Expressen*, Danish *Ekstra Bladet* and Norwegian *Verdens Gang (VG)*.

From the journalistic perspective, conducting service journalism can be a way to build an alliance – to make a contract – with audience members. This alliance could be of particular importance as the roles of consumer, client and private persons are becoming more visible than the citizen role. The service pages typically address a *lifeworld* whose information matters to the reader, not a *system world* (of economy, politics and administration) which has more restricted opportunities for action.

Service journalism also plays an important role in current journalistic image building. This branch of journalism might become even more important in the on-going reformulation of the concept of public service. Such a reinterpretation would place more emphasis on 'service' than 'public'. That service is primarily a service for the individual and private consumer rather than a service to enable citizens to participate in the public sphere.

Ambiguity and flexibility

As indicated, it is very often easy to identify an individualistic bias in the current service journalism in popular mass media. The question then is whether this individualism is an intrinsic part of these journalistic formats. Is the connection between the individual and society cut in modern service journalism? In opposition to other commentators (e.g. Bech-Karlsen 1996), I argue that it is too simplistic to bluntly answer 'yes' to such questions. Service journalism does not, by definition, have to be individualistic; it can also enable and inspire collective action and cultural experiences. It not only provides guidance on how to enjoy one's personal life; it can also supply information on how neighbours, friends and like-minded people can work together to take social action. This means that we are dealing with an ambiguous and flexible kind of journalism.

Although service journalism tends to convey an individualising and privatising ideology, the logic of this journalism is not *per se* inherently individualistic. It can also act as the basis on which alternative, intermediate politics and experiences can be developed. This is what Beck (1997) calls subpolitics, or the politicising activities of social movements and social advocacy and activist groups which address the problems of everyday life (Eide & Knight 1999). The media are now a central space in which subpolitics are played out as service journalism or, more accurately in our context, as an encounter between service journalism and cultural journalism.

This meeting makes any rigid distinction between public and private, active and passive, collective and individual, critical and affirmative hard to sustain. It demonstrates that the subject of service journalism is a hybrid figure, a mobile composite of the citizen, the consumer and the client in which the predominance of any one element is situationally specific, not fixed (Eide & Knight 1999).

The scope of service journalism is certainly not restricted to advice columns in print and service programs on the screen. The mentality and ideology of this kind of journalism expand far beyond such contexts and texts and can likely be seen as decisive components in the construction of the modern ideology of journalism. Seminal journalistic fields, such as current affairs and politics, are no exception in this regard. A service journalistic attitude seems to be productive for the detached political journalist, who has no other obligation than to serve the audience.

The media claim to be 'On Your side' and to have a vocation to force politicians to provide the solutions demanded by the people. 'We'll provide the necessary service', reads the media's public assessment of the demand for political consumer information. This approach can be interpreted as an indication of an ideology labelled consumption democracy, which consists of a hegemonic mixture of the capitalistic firm and a social democratic vision (Petersson 1989). The citizen is potentially reduced to the customer, demanding a service provided by the journalism in question and the prevailing media logic associated with it. While the distinction between service journalism and other kinds of news and feature journalism was clear cut earlier, a new idea is now proposed by an observer: perhaps all journalism is service journalism in one way or another (Wallace 2012).

The idea of the press as the fourth estate of power traditionally has been rooted in its obligation to serve the citizen in the democratic processes. We might also now witness a shift in balance towards a greater emphasis on consumerist perspectives. This shift is not only salient in the media. Social agents also seem to embrace a modern service ideology in both the public and private domains of society. Within the public sector, the service concept has been central in privatisation, deregulation, debureaucratisation and reorganisation programmes. A stronger user orientation and general service attitude is proclaimed. The boundaries between public and private are shifting, and the roles of citizens, consumers, clients and private persons are not stable entities. This, again, calls for a socio-historical understanding of the complex genre of service journalism.

Blurring boundaries

So far, the argument has emphasised the centrality and expansion of the genre of service journalism, its social and historical contexts and its political potential. This discussion should be accompanied by an account of new trends emerging from the encounter between service journalism and cultural journalism.

It is fair to refer to a merger between service journalism and cultural journalism. Or more precisely, the logic of service journalism has expanded into the field of cultural journalism, and developments within this field are connected to the general service ideology and its affinity for providing advice and helping audience members in everyday life. Cultural journalism has joined other journalistic genres in turning the newspaper into a use-paper. This tendency has been accompanied by a blurring of the boundaries between different kinds of journalism, such as lifestyle journalism, cultural journalism and consumer journalism. As Kristensen and From (2012) show, this merging of journalistic genres takes place against a background of the general mediatisation of consumption.

At the structural and organisational levels, a parallel blurring occurs in the distinction between newsroom and mercantile offices (Barland 2012). Kristensen and From (2012, p. 37) also talk about blurring boundaries from a production perspective and emphasise the editorial organisation of news desks and the editorial profile of newspapers.

The marketization and commodification of the newsroom culture has expanded, and sales concepts are built into journalistic products. Journalism appears to be customer relations. A corporate culture is consciously nurtured through the launching of service-journalistic and market-driven products often related to lifestyle journalism, such as weight clubs, pet clubs and other club-based challenges to legacy journalism. These kinds of concepts transform the relationship between the audience and the media from subscription to membership. Service journalism, in particular, is instrumental in fostering membership-based alliances. “Join our weight club!”

Heterogeneous service providers

The reception and production of service journalism take place on new media platforms. The smartphone, for instance, is a crucial arena for advice, whether it be about restaurants, hotels, movies, concerts or other cultural events. The expansion of service journalism has taken place across genres, as well as across platforms. Service journalism 'now is everywhere,' journalist Jack Limpert (2012) writes. 'The *Washington Post*, and most newspapers, are full of it'. So are social media, serving as a fascinating playground for guidance, advice and service.

In this regard, service journalism also provides a community experience for the involved amateur audience members. Nikki Usher (2012) emphasises this function in an analysis of the changes in two forms of service journalism (at *The New York Times*), personal finance journalism and personal technology journalism. The emphasis on the participatory and networked aspects of journalism adds to the political role of service journalism. This mobilising role is also in play in the cultural version of this journalistic genre, linking to the idea of networked journalism and co-operation between journalists and citizens.

In the cultural domain, amateur reviewers provide a service for cultural consumption and offer advice that makes life easier. This is a crucial area of encounters between service journalism and user-generated content. Competent amateurs provide evaluations and recommendations in blogs and webpages on their own initiative or in co-operation with professional journalists. These services are typically offered in the form of advices or lists. The obsession with lists is common to service journalism and cultural journalism. The mobilisation of visual symbols, such as game dice, hearts, stars and bottles, is a similar case. Through visualised advice, the journalist acts as a guide, and audience members act as guides for each other. The service orientation can turn journalism into a recommendations machine. Reviews and ratings convey and maintain status distinctions and hierarchies in the cultural field (Blank 2007). However, major differences remain between the practice of the competent cultural reviewer and the advices offered by simplistic service journalism.

The repertoire of service journalism emerges from a wide range of professional role conceptions in the cultural field. Indeed, all the ideal types of the cultural critic developed by Kristensen and From (2015) might provide arenas for advice and service journalism. Guidance and advice are central parts of the critical mandate nurtured by (1) the intellectual cultural critic, (2) the professional cultural journalist, (3) the media-made arbiter of taste and (4) the everyday amateur expert (Kristensen & From 2015). Service journalism can be conducted within the framework of all four role conceptions. Expressing opinions and providing taste judgments are integral tasks of these ideal types of journalists and critics.

In relation to journalistic reorientations, the service journalism provided by everyday amateur critic is of particular interest. The everyday amateur expert is especially relevant in the digital, post-industrial perspective on journalism (Kammer

2015). Reviews of art and culture made by amateurs can enrich the modern cultural public sphere with experience-based cultural tastes (Kristensen & From 2015). The competence and specialist knowledge of some amateur reviewers can produce instructive, competent cultural criticism which provides useful guidance for media readers, listeners and viewers.

When the people formerly known as the audience also participate as everyday amateur experts, it indicates changing professional relations. However, this is not necessarily a matter of de-professionalization. It might also be an example of the re-professionalization of cultural journalism (Kammer 2015: 884, Kristensen & From 2015: 767).

In this current situation, I have argued, it is crucial to understand the relationship between the professional mind-set of service journalism and the mind-set and the professional ideology involved in the participatory turn in journalism. When cultural journalism meets service journalism, this encounter, on one hand, might represent a problematic privatisation of the ethos of cultural journalism. The encounter, on the other hand, might stimulate a user-generated cultural critique, thereby contributing to a more vibrant public sphere.

Cultural journalism is affected by basic journalistic reorientations. When cultural journalism meets service journalism and relates to the participatory turn in journalism, fascinating practices arise in which cultural journalism is equal to and different from other kinds of journalism. Incorporating service journalism as a central element in fundamental journalistic reorientations will provide a better understanding of the professionalization of cultural journalism.

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Afterword

In addition to the Nordic Cultural Journalism network's partners: *Nete Nørgaard Kristensen*, University of Copenhagen, head of project; *Kristina Riegert*, Stockholm University; *Leif Ove Larsen*, University of Bergen, and *Heikki Hellman*, Tampere University, the workshops involved a core group of colleagues from the Nordic countries:

Unni From, University of Aarhus
Jan Fredrik Hovden, University of Bergen
Maarit Jaakkola, Tampere University
Aske Kammer, IT University
Karl Atle Knapskog, University of Bergen
Anna Roosvall, Stockholm University
Andreas Widholm, Södertörn University

Furthermore, invited national and international colleagues and media representatives participated in parts of the workshop activities:

Klaus Bruhn Jensen, University of Copenhagen
Katarina Dahlgren Svanevik, culture editor, STV
Martin Eide, University of Bergen
Jostein Gripsrud, University of Bergen
Helle Haastrup, University of Copenhagen
Rasmus Helles, University of Copenhagen
Mattias Hermansson, culture editor, SR
Satu Keto, vice-head of culture, YLE
Anders Lange, Danish School of Media and Journalism
Rune Lykkeberg cultural editor of *Politiken* (at the time)
Andrew McWhirter, Glasgow Caledonian University
Steffen Moestrup, University of Copenhagen
Janne Mällinen, culture editor, YLE
Kisten Sparre, Aarhus University
Marc Verboord, Erasmus University Rotterdam
Troels Østergaard, Danish School of Media and Journalism

The Nordic Network and the production of this book have inspired several new research projects, for example:

The Danish research project *From Ivory Tower to Twitter: Rethinking the Cultural Critic in Contemporary Media Culture*, funded by The Danish Research Council for Independent Research (2015-2019) and managed by Nete Nørgaard Kristensen

The Swedish research project *The Worlds of Swedish Cultural Journalism: Politics and Culture under Globalization and Digitalization*, funded by The Swedish Research Council (2016-2019) and managed by Kristina Riegert

The Nordic comparative research project *A Question of Quality? Nordic cultural critique in the media and the negotiation of popular culture*, funded by the Nowegian Arts Council (2016-17) and managed by Nete Nørgaard Kristensen

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NORDICOM's activities are based on broad and extensive network of contacts and collaboration with members of the research community, media companies, politicians, regulators, teachers, librarians, and so forth, around the world. The activities at Nordicom are characterized by three main working areas.

- ***Media and Communication Research Findings in the Nordic Countries***

  Nordicom publishes a Nordic journal, *Nordicom Information*, and an English language journal, *Nordicom Review* (refereed), as well as anthologies and other reports in both Nordic and English languages. Different research databases concerning, among other things, scientific literature and ongoing research are updated continuously and are available on the Internet. Nordicom has the character of a hub of Nordic cooperation in media research. Making Nordic research in the field of mass communication and media studies known to colleagues and others outside the region, and weaving and supporting networks of collaboration between the Nordic research communities and colleagues abroad are two prime facets of the Nordicom work.

  The documentation services are based on work performed in national documentation centres attached to the universities in Aarhus, Denmark; Tampere, Finland; Reykjavik, Iceland; Bergen, Norway; and Göteborg, Sweden.

- ***Trends and Developments in the Media Sectors in the Nordic Countries***

  Nordicom compiles and collates media statistics for the whole of the Nordic region. The statistics, together with qualified analyses, are published in the series, *Nordic Media Trends*, and on the homepage. Besides statistics on output and consumption, the statistics provide data on media ownership and the structure of the industries as well as national regulatory legislation. Today, the Nordic region constitutes a common market in the media sector, and there is a widespread need for impartial, comparable basic data. These services are based on a Nordic network of contributing institutions.

  Nordicom gives the Nordic countries a common voice in European and international networks and institutions that inform media and cultural policy. At the same time, Nordicom keeps Nordic users abreast of developments in the sector outside the region, particularly developments in the European Union and the Council of Europe.

- ***Research on Children, Youth and the Media Worldwide***

  At the request of UNESCO, Nordicom started the International Clearinghouse on Children, Youth and Media in 1997. The work of the Clearinghouse aims at increasing our knowledge of children, youth and media and, thereby, at providing the basis for relevant decision-making, at contributing to constructive public debate and at promoting children's and young people's media literacy. It is also hoped that the work of the Clearinghouse will stimulate additional research on children, youth and media. The Clearinghouse's activities have as their basis a global network of 1000 or so participants in more than 125 countries, representing not only the academia, but also, e.g., the media industries, politics and a broad spectrum of voluntary organizations.

  In yearbooks, newsletters and survey articles the Clearinghouse has an ambition to broaden and contextualize knowledge about children, young people and media literacy. The Clearinghouse seeks to bring together and make available insights concerning children's and young people's relations with mass media from a variety of perspectives.

In an era when culture itself has become central to political debates, when boundaries between hard news and soft news, facts and opinion are dissolving, cultural journalism contributes to democratic discourse on vital issues of our time. Cultural journalism is furthermore indicative of journalistic autonomy and specialisation within media organisations, and of the intertwined relationship between the cultural and political public spheres. Nordic cultural journalism in the mainstream media covers more subjects today than ever before, from fine arts to gaming, media industries, and lifestyle issues. At the same time, it harbours debates and reflection on freedom of expression, ethnicity and national identity. This book contributes to an emerging international research agenda on cultural journalism at a time when digitalisation, convergence and globalisation are influencing the character of journalism in multiple ways.

"Cultural journalism matters, and it matters differently by location. This nuanced and thoughtful portrayal of cultural journalism in the Nordic countries performs a double elevation of what has been missing for too long from journalism's discussion: its stylistic and geographic variety. This book offers a strong set of studies that highlight what cultural journalism in the Nordic countries forces us to consider about all journalism everywhere."

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